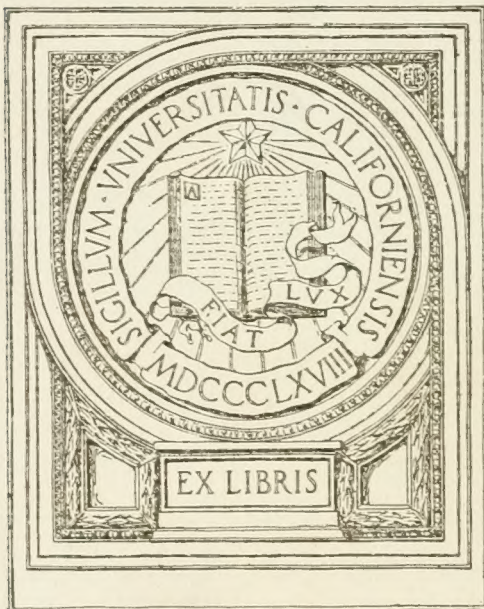




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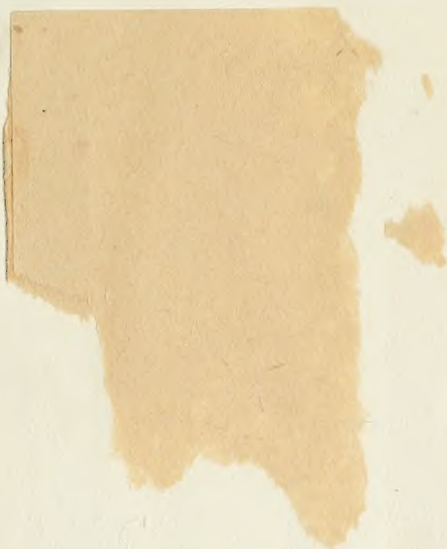


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THE
AGE OF THE REFORMATION

BY

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BOOK I.

THE REFORMATION: LUTHER
AND CHARLES V.

THE REFORMATION: LUTHER AND CHARLES V.

CHAPTER I.

GERMANY JUST BEFORE LUTHER.

(A. D. 1450-1519.)

THE supremacy of certain definite tendencies and the superiority of certain social classes can last only as these continue to render services to society. If, during the Middle Ages, the clergy and the feudal aristocracy controlled the whole of social life and played the leading part in government, it was due to two paramount causes: the clergy—especially the regular clergy—were the only cultivated class, and the nobles were the only skilled warriors. So long as the clergy alone knew how to wield intellectual weapons and to guide the thought of the west, and so long as the ironclad knight alone decided the issue of battles, so long did Europe yield unresistingly to their power. But after the eventful changes of the Crusades both of these privileged orders were seriously shaken, and at length hopelessly overthrown. For, in the twelfth century, the development of the study and application of Roman law; in the thirteenth, of sound medical science; and, above all, of classical literature in the fourteenth, transferred the culture of the clergy to the laity. More than this; in consequence of the pagan, or, at any rate, non-Christian character of the Renaissance in the Latin countries, and of its nationalistic tendency in German lands, the culture of this period assumed an attitude hostile to the arbitrary and half-mystical church. In like manner, little was left of the former military prestige of the nobility. The victories of the English yeoman at Crécy, Maupertuis, and Agincourt, the heroic struggles of the Flemish and French communes, of the Swabian League, of the Swiss peasants, and of the Hussites, had repeatedly proved that no cavalry can hold its own against well-armed and well-disciplined infantry. Besides, the equipment of foot-soldiers with fire-arms, and the use of artillery, however imperfect, contributed to increase the superiority of the infantry. Henceforth, feudal chivalry gives way to mercenary troops or militia consisting



FIG. 1. Emperor Maximilian I. Reduced facsimile of the wood-engraving by Albert Dürer.

mainly of infantry, that is, of peasants and tradesmen. Thus arose the armies of the Italian *condottieri*; the Free Companions of France in the

fifteenth century, and, in Germany, the admirably-trained Landsknecht regiments of Emperor Maximilian (see Fig. 1).

Power thus passed out of the hands of the nobility and the clergy into those of very different classes. The noble, no longer able with his undisciplined body of retainers to cope with the prince and his mercenaries, was forced to surrender the rule to the stronger arm. There arose in consequence, in all European countries, the absolutism of territorial princes. In the same way, the intellectual leadership of the people was transferred from the clergy to learned laymen. Kings and princes no longer selected their counsellors among churchmen, but more exclusively among jurists at first, and later among jurists and humanists, whose ranks were recruited mostly from the middle, or burgher, class. If we add to these causes the anti-church and socialistic dreams of numerous mystic sects, and the open attacks of the disciples of Wycliffe and John Huss, it will be readily seen how very different from the mediaeval way of thinking were the thoughts of the fifteenth century, and with what increasing antipathy men looked upon institutions which had lost all their vitality.

This restless spirit was excited still more by the great inventions and discoveries of the times. We have already referred to the application of gunpowder. What a welcome weapon did the new art of printing prove to the humanist, with his love for writing and his propagandist zeal! Great discoveries also attracted public attention. Vast and wonderful regions were opened to the imagination, and old long-accepted theories had to be given up as no longer tenable. Bold navigators crossed the equator, and by so doing disproved the theory of the unendurable heat of the tropics. To the world's amazement Africa was found to be a circumnavigable triangle. A mighty continent, with lands and treasures undreamed of, rose out of the waves of the Atlantic. The earth seemed to grow immeasurably. These things, though to-day commonplace and self-evident, then produced a profound impression and powerfully stirred the imagination of men.

Commerce, which had once before received a mighty impulse from the Crusades, was again given new life by these discoveries; it sought new channels for itself, and gradually transferred its activity from the shores of the Mediterranean to those of the Atlantic. The wealth which this increased commerce gathered in the cities gave occupation to increased industry; this was further stimulated by the greater refinement in taste growing out of the discovery and study of ancient art. In Germany, especially, industrial production grew so largely from the beginning of the fifteenth century, that the Italian, Aeneas Silvius, described it as the

richest land upon the earth. Trading associations, not unlike our joint stock companies, were formed; extensive commercial and industrial ventures called into being the credit system; and money circulated more rapidly and more beneficially among men.

As early as 1425 Pope Martin V. had modified the church rules forbidding the exacting of interest, to the great satisfaction of the cities of the German empire. Great banks were founded, whose managers heaped up enormous fortunes, first of all in Florence, Venice, and Genoa; then in Cahors, Lyons, and Paris; finally in Germany also among the patricians of Augsburg and Nuremberg. Exchange became general. A similar revolution occurred in industrial relations. In the cities master-workmen would no longer work for their keep and a mere pittance of daily wage, but insisted upon working by contract. As early as 1490 we find loan and trust offices and savings-banks for workingmen. Movable property or money, which is the mainspring of industry and trade, now began to be more important than real property, which had been at the base of the feudal system.

This revolution brought with it a radical change in the debt and credit system. The loans on land assumed more and more the character of regular mortgages, and real estate became thus subordinated to money power. The easily transported precious metals tempted the spirit to bolder ventures. With gold one might break through the heretofore impassible barrier of class-distinctions; thus the Fuggers of Augsburg, though simple bankers, consorted with princes. The gifted court banker of King Charles VII. of France, Jacques Coeur, in derision of feudalism, had a tournament of asses carved on the façade of his superb residence in Bourges (p. 222, Vol. X.). German humanists, like Gabriel Biel and the famous George Agricola, were conscious of this economic change, and wrote in praise of the new science of finance. Biel also gave lectures on the subject at Tübingen. Some wild and fraudulent speculations of course took place, but the economic revolution was finally accomplished; the old system had been undermined, and must fall sooner or later.

In Germany there was confusion and ferment. The official machinery, resting as it did on the harmonious action of the diet and the emperor, was getting more and more out of joint. The result of incessant quarrels between the emperor and the estates was a spirit of independence and even defiance on the part of the latter, which threatened to bring back the darkest days of the rule of force. The princes endeavored to extend their power at the expense of their neighbors or of their own subjects. The independent knights, who felt themselves especially threatened, endeavored to oppose the growing power of the princes and

their retainers by forming strong leagues ; but in vain. They then tried to assert their independence by systematically plundering peasants and tradesmen. Not a few of the knights most famed in song, like Götz von Berlichingen and Hans von Selbitz, were simply robbers of gentle blood, that seem more defiant and lawless than their predecessors of two centuries before, because they lived in a more civilized age. Whole armies of these robbers gathered together for plunder, and it was only the combined efforts of the emperor and the Swabian League that checked their turbulence and drove them back to their strongholds. This wild kind of behavior seemed so natural to the German nobility that even men so enlightened as Franz von Sickingen, and Ulrich von Hutten, often took part in raids and quarrels of this sort. The cities resisted force with force, and if they captured these robber barons, tortured or executed them. Nowhere was there either peace or security.

Among the lower classes, also, a defiant and democratic spirit asserted itself, and was still further fomented by the unfortunate economic conditions of the first half of the sixteenth century. For during this period gold and silver became much more plenty, owing to large influx of these metals from the Spanish-American colonies. This caused a sharp rise in the price of commodities ; but as the wages of laborers, though they ultimately follow prices, do so very slowly, and not always even then proportionately, this economic change bore very hard upon all manual laborers, and increased in them a spirit of hostility and hatred toward the rich. This spirit was further increased in the towns by the fact that the richer commercial corporations selfishly monopolized all foreign trade ; in vain did the diet in 1522 forbid the formation of companies owning more than 50,000 florins of capital. Wealth gravitated more and more into the hands of a few, who spent it in vulgar display. All this tended to rouse the poor against the rich, and caused a rapid and widespread dissemination of communistic ideas. A loud demand arose for the limitation of commercial capital, to the excessive extension of which all prevalent evils were attributed. But this was not all. In the years 1474-1476 Hans Böheim preached in Franconia the abolition of taxation, the equalization of all property, and freedom of fishing and hunting for the peasants. Thousands thronged about him to drink in his teachings. There appeared under the name of the long-deceased Emperor Sigismund a document called "Reformation," a programme of social innovations closely corresponding to Böheim's. The pride of the clergy was also to be checked by an emperor who was to rise out of his magical sleep for the purpose.

The practical application of such teachings was soon apparent. In

the cities the renewal of the old hatred between the upper classes and the commoners led to bloody fights. Sometimes the council prevailed; sometimes the guilds. In various towns, we read of imprisonments, banishments, executions. But the most extensive and violent movement was that among the peasantry, whose sufferings were far more intolerable than those of other classes. The substitution of Roman law for the Old German customs, which was rapidly taking place, completed their subjection. Peasant justices were replaced by learned foreign jurists, who, applying to the German peasant system the principles of the Roman law, declared that most peasants were legally no better than the old Roman slaves. Such legal ideas naturally fostered a tendency to rebellion. Just at this time the newly invented flintlock gave the peasant a weapon that put him on a level of equality with the ironclad knight, and he asserted himself accordingly. Nobles and cities, in other things so discordant, agreed in their complaints of the insolence of the "rude," "lazy," "arrogant" peasant. The terrible uprisings of the "Bundschuh" in the Upper Rhine valley (1493, 1501, and 1502), of "Poor Conrad" in Würtemberg (1514), imperilled the social order of the times.

To the far-reaching political and social fermentation were readily allied religious dissatisfaction and a longing for novelty. One may easily trace back the origin of the communistic vagaries of that period to the Hussites and to the Netherland Brethren of the Common Life. It was especially the Hussite spirit, in truth the spirit of Wycliffe, that inspired the religious opposition from the middle of the fifteenth century. In Bohemia, among the persecuted Utraquists, it led to the founding of the "Unity of Brethren," which rested on distinctly Wycliffite principles. This body of Christians recognized as binding only the Holy Scriptures and rejected all consecrated hierarchies and priesthoods. Germany itself was infected with Hussites after their great military successes gave added potency to their doctrines. In Swabia and Franconia, in Bavaria and in Prussia, the Inquisition tracked out and burned many heretics. The Brethren of the Common Life spread many heresies in the Netherlands. John of Goch (died 1475), a quiet, pious, practical Christian, took the teaching of the Bible as his rule in all his commercial dealings, and regarded it as unconditionally binding upon all men.

John Ruchrath of Wesel published, as early as 1450, seven theses against indulgences, in which he goes even farther than Luther later went. In a work on the authority and duty of spiritual shepherds, he maintains on church government distinctly Wycliffite opinions. Reform was in the air; it needed but a heroic character to shape it into a grand natural reality. John of Wesel did not possess the courage necessary to endure

the crucial test, for when summoned before the Inquisition in Mayence, in 1479, he recanted. But in spite of this he was condemned to prison for life, and died in a dungeon two years later.

Somewhat less advanced in his opinions was Geiler of Kaisersberg (died 1509), yet by his very popular preaching he turned the minds of the people away from justification by works and formalism, and pointed them to the inner life and the disposition of the heart as the proper test of religion. He fearlessly inveighed against the worldliness of the church. In this he was at one with a very different spirit, the famous humanist, Erasmus of Rotterdam, who in his "Little Handbook of the Christian Soldier" (1501), openly rejects sanctification by works, the worship of saints and of the Virgin, as well as fasts, monasticism and the like. "I merely affirm," says he, "that piety consists not in food or clothing or any such outward thing."

Then, side by side with the theological opposition to the church, came the humanistic, whose standard-bearers were Erasmus, Reuchlin, and Conrad Celtis. Patricians of wealth and refinement, like Willibald Pirckheimer in Nuremberg and Conrad Peutinger in Augsburg, freely gave of their means and influence to assist the scholars in their work, hospitably opened their houses to them, and gave them access to their rich libraries and precious collections. In all the larger cities there were found circles of men devoted to the study of antiquity. The most important of these societies gathered in the University of Erfurt, around the talented, sceptical, epicurean Mutianus Rufus (born 1471). Prominent among its members was Ulrich von Hutten. He was born in 1488 of an old but impoverished noble family in North Franconia; he had run away from the monastery to which his parents had sent him, and, according to the custom of the day, had visited various universities as a "wandering student." Ulrich then went to Italy as a soldier in the service of the Elector of Mayence. Though of somewhat frivolous demeanor, Hutten was the noblest and strongest character among all the humanists. Following his convictions with ardent zeal, he fought against folly and baseness with grim and caustic wit, and was as ready to defend what he believed with the sword as with the pen. He was, moreover, an enthusiastic German patriot. While the frivolous and selfish Italian humanism kept outwardly at peace with the church, though at heart wholly estranged from her, German humanism was with most of its adherents so much a matter of conviction that it early led them to take a decided stand on all religious questions. They lacked, however, the moral courage to break openly with the church, and contented themselves with battling against her abuses.

At length the struggle began in earnest, and about a matter of direct interest to learning. A baptized Jew, Pfefferkorn (see Fig. 2), claimed that all Hebrew books, save the Bible, should be burned, as hostile to Christianity. Reuchlin, himself a distinguished Hebraist, opposed this claim in an excellent argument (1510). Violent pamphlets were exchanged between Pfefferkorn and Reuchlin, all scholars siding with the latter. Pfefferkorn was at length driven to request the theological faculty of Cologne—nearly all Dominicans—to interfere against Reuchlin. They demanded of the great scholar that he should retract, and, on his refusal,



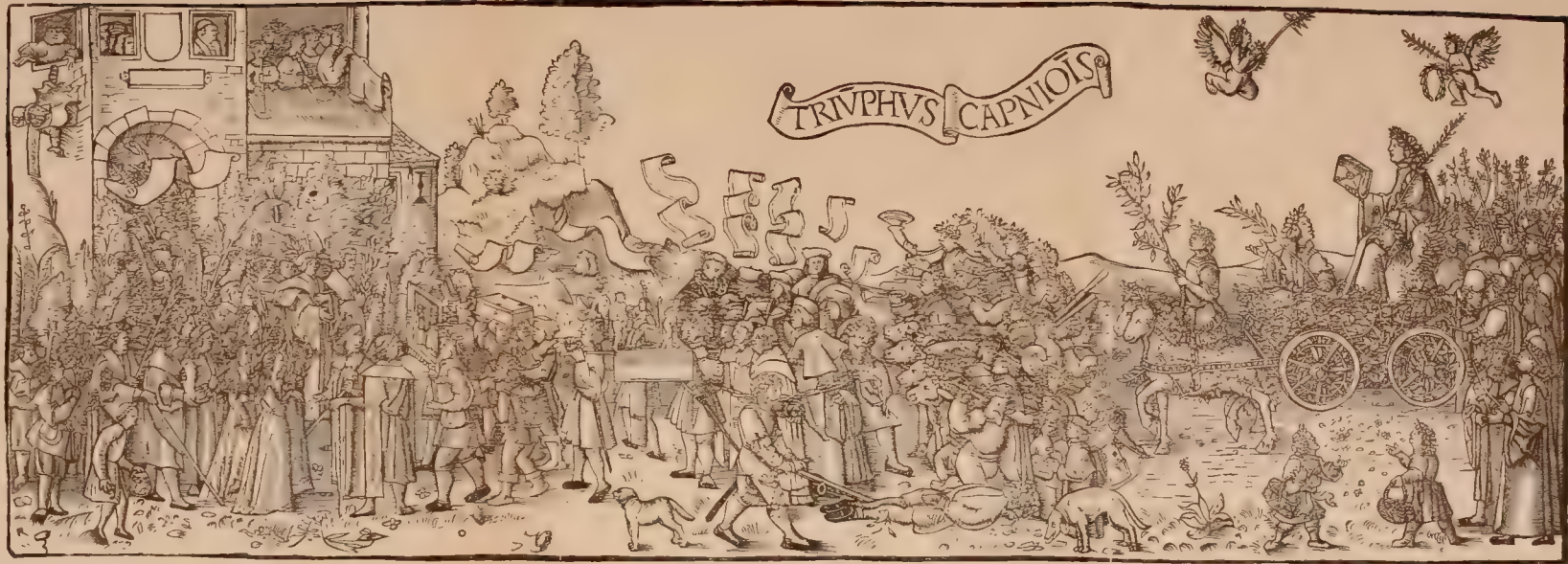
FIG. 2. Satire upon Reuchlin. He is represented as double-tongued, and behind him are his pupils. His chair collapses beneath the tread of Pfefferkorn's foot. (From Pfefferkorn's *Streitpuechlin*, 1516.)

condemned his books to be burned by the executioner. Reuchlin, supported by public opinion, by the princes and the emperor himself, appealed to the pope, who reversed the decision of the Cologne tribunal (1516). This was a brilliant victory over the reactionary party, and the humanists did not attempt to conceal their joy (PLATE I.). The Erfurt circle, especially Hutten, gave at once free expression to their delight, first in a poem, "Reuchlin's Triumph" (*Triumphus Capnionis*), and a little later in the "Letters of Obscure Men" (*Litterae obscurorum virorum*, 1515-1517). This latter precious document—only a small portion of which is Hutten's, most of it being the work of the Erfurt



maidens, adorned with garlands and carrying sprigs of laurel, to receive Reuchlin, great humanist: he rides in a car adorned with flowers, and wears a laurel wreath.

In front of the car is a merry band of musicians, singing in praise of Reuchlin, and an interesting group of the whole scene: it represents the trophies of victory and the two men, a bier with small figures representing the four conquered divinities of the in, follow their divinities. The figure at the left, with the chain about his neck, is Frankfort: in front of Mayer is Bartolomaeus Zehender, preacher in Mayence, next on thrust through the calves of his legs, by which he is dragged along. A man is



The Triumph of Reuchlin

Woodcut in *Eleutherii Bygem* (Ulrich von Hutten's) "Triumphus Doctoris Reuchlini" 1518 (Hagenau 6)

The picture represents Reuchlin making a triumphal entry into Pforzheim, his native town. Through the open gates at the left throng the chief persons of the town: men and women, youths and maidens, adorned with garlands, and carrying sprigs of laurel to receive Reuchlin. A band of music is playing on an elevated scaffold, and from a neighboring window is flung a wreath, to symbolize the expulsion of the priesthood through Reuchlin's triumph. On the right approaches the zealous humanist. He rides in a cart adorned with flowers and wears a laurel wreath. In his right hand he holds a book, which Hutten's poem describes as the "Augenspiegel" (Mirror). Children strew flowers in the way. The cart is followed by a throng of poets, jurists, and other scholars. In front of the cart is a merry band of musicians, singing in praise of Reuchlin and playing upon guitars, flutes, trumpets, horns, and other instruments, and accompanied by four garlanded oxen—votive offerings for the victory. Between them and the people from the city is the most interesting group of the whole scene: it represents the trophies of victory and the vanquished enemy. In advance is carried a painting, behind this books and a casket containing the refuted positions and arguments of the theologians. Then there follows, borne upon the shoulders of two men, a bar with small figures representing the four conquered divisions of the theologians: superstition, barbarity, ignorance, which is represented as a lazy fellow with a huge belly, seated, and Envy. A company of the scholars vanquished by Reuchlin, surrounded by a stout chain, follow their divinites. The figure at the left, with the chain about his neck, is Hochstraten; next, blindfolded, *ortuin* (Grotius); Tungen's head rises above the others. Below, three monks are conspicuous; the tallest, with hands bound behind his back, is Petrus Mayer, preacher in Frankfurt; in front of Mayer is Bartholomaeus Zehender, preacher in Mayence; next to whom walks Johann Be-tram von Naumburg, priest in Mayence. In the foreground Pfefferkorn lies on his face; his tongue has been torn out, and his hands are bound behind him; a scythe has been thrust through the calves of his legs, by which he is dragged along. A man is striking him with a stick.

circle, especially of Crotus Rubianus—found a ready reception in Germany, and did irreparable harm to the partisans of ignorance. It contained letters to Ortwin Gratius, a professor at Cologne and one of Reuchlin's stoutest opponents, purporting to be from Gratius's own friends, coarse and dissolute priests, and written with an affected simplicity and in barbarous monks' Latin. The satire was so well carried out that at first many monks accepted the letters as genuine, and were only convinced of their mistake by a caustic ironical supplement.

It is easy to see that under these conditions the position of the church had been seriously weakened and its opponents had become emboldened for a direct attack. The humanists had succeeded in making ridiculous that scholastic training which for centuries had moulded the thought of Europe, and in replacing it by a new, finer, and more brilliant individual culture. With this came a disposition to appeal from the accepted church traditions to the sources of those traditions. In his *Rudimenta Hebraica* Reuchlin openly criticises the church version of the Old Testament, and Erasmus in his translation of the New Testament opened the way to independent Biblical study. Men now approached the Holy Scriptures in a critical spirit. Editions of the Fathers were published, translations of their works were made, and the European mind was gradually freed from the previous thralldom of ecclesiastical authority. From the beginning of the sixteenth century the study of the Bible was carried on in a manner and spirit before unknown and quite contrary to the views of the church. Yet humanism could not directly affect the common people; it was too learned, too refined, and too cautious. "We must respect appearances," was the excuse that Mutianus repeatedly put forward for his submission to the church ceremonials, which he treated with scorn and contempt when among his friends.

Much more powerful and bitter than the theological was the social opposition to the church. It first appeared in the folk-literature, which, since the invention of printing, had taken a very significant development. About 1480 there was issued a comedy, "Popess Joan," in which that scandalous mythical personage was freely exposed to the laughter of the multitude. Near the close of the century appeared in print "Reineke Fuchs," the sharpest satire against the clergy and especially the papacy.

The three anti-church tendencies, the theological, the humanistic, and the popular, were sometimes embodied in a single man, for example, as in Sebastian Brandt. This satirist, a native of Strasburg (1458-1520), in his famous "Ship of Fools," attacks the ignorance and covetousness of the clergy. Henry Bebel, son of a Westphalian peasant, published in 1505 a similar satire, called the "Triumph of Venus." As the foremost adherents

of Venus, that is, the principle of voluptuousness and sensual enjoyment, and as enemies of virtue and industry, the satirist introduces, immediately after the goddess, the mendicant monks, then the pope and his dignitaries, and the secular clergy, while in sharp contrast with all these he lauds the days of the primitive church. Then follow the rest of Venus's retinue. These books of Brandt, Bebel, and others, all of a similar tendency, scattered among the people in numerous editions, did not fail to increase their distrust of the clergy and their teachings. Naturally, the German masses everywhere were disturbed, dissatisfied, longing for a change. But no man had yet appeared to concentrate all these tendencies, to lead them on to a definite end and to make Germany the foremost nation of Christendom. The land had already, at heart, torn loose from the church, which, for centuries, had held undisputed possession of the western world. Everywhere men felt that a great religious revolution was inevitable. The time had come for a bold and ardent spirit to reveal and to complete this division. Such a man was Martin Luther.

Martin Luther was born on November 10, 1483. The family name was Ludher, the Low German form for Lothar. His parents were peasants from Möhra, on the western slope of the Thuringian forest; but as his father was a younger son, and had no part in the patrimonial estate, he had moved to Eisleben to work as a miner. It was there his son, Martin, was born. "I am a peasant's son," Luther was wont to say; "my father, grandfather, and great grandfather were genuine peasants." Luther's life never belied his origin; only such a temperament as his could have wrought so powerfully and efficiently upon the common people. Luther's youth, like that of so many other great men, was hard and joyless. His parents, who early removed to Mansfeld, were extremely severe, and in the Latin school of this town discipline was stern. Luther's early shyness and mental struggles sprang in large measure from the sad impressions of his youth. His father wished him to study law, and not theology, for the rude miner had scant regard for the lazy, sensual priesthood. So in his fourteenth year Luther entered the school of the Franciscans in Magdeburg, and, later on, the school at Eisenach, where he was more than once hospitably entertained in the home of the cultivated and wealthy Cotta family. Still, at both schools young Luther had to struggle with bitter poverty, for his parents afforded him no aid. But such hardships steeled his character. In 1501, Luther went to the University of Erfurt, which at that time was regarded as one of the first in Germany, on account of the large number of learned humanists who taught in it. There even scholasticism had a freethinking turn; the text-books used were the works of John of Wesel.

At Erfurt Luther spent seven years. The bright, poetic Thuringian life had a beneficial influence on his temperament. He had many friends, to whom his love of music and his thorough knowledge of it had especially endeared him. Still, following his father's wishes, he added to the study of the humanities that of law. This was not a hardship for him, as the enthusiasm that so many others felt for antiquity had not affected him; though later, it is true, he regretted not having read more of the poets and the historians. Greek, at this period, he had not studied at all. But still, in the midst of the cheerful activity of the world about him, he felt unsatisfied and even depressed. His earnest nature impelled him to the study of theology. The sad experiences of his childhood sometimes returned to him; the sudden death of a friend deeply affected him; and finally the awful impression left upon his mind by a terrific thunderstorm determined him, greatly to his father's disappointment, to renounce the world and enter the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt (1505). Luther threw himself with all the ardor of his energetic character into the duties and obligations of his new life. By fasting, prayers, and vigils he so weakened his body as to excite the compassion of his brethren. In the spring of 1507, he was ordained priest.

According to Luther's own statement it was in this monastery that he first received the impulse to all his later activities. He had a profound, almost morbid, longing to lift himself up to God by eager, incessant striving. And as his powerful and imaginative temperament seemed to hamper him, he fell into melancholy, and attributed to himself an inexpiable sensual sinfulness that doomed him to everlasting damnation. In vain he prayed to a multitude of saints as mediators; they could afford him no hope, no assurance of salvation. His despair came near causing his ruin; but a deliverer came in the person of John of Staupitz, vicar-general of the Augustinians. A man of noble family, of kind disposition, of penetrating intellect, though not of energetic character, Staupitz had become thoroughly imbued with the mysticism pervading the life and teachings of the tutelary saint of his order. He felt, therefore, a ready sympathy for Luther, and in true Augustinian fashion pointed out to him divine grace confirmed by faith, as the sole and infallible means of deliverance. His counsel and guidance powerfully affected Luther, who searched the Scriptures to prove the truth of Staupitz's views, and was rewarded by finding the effectualness of divine grace assured by faith proven by the salvation of man through Christ's death. Thus, the ground-thought of Luther's subsequent teaching, Justification by Faith, was already working within him. A year after his ordination, Luther, on the recommendation of Staupitz, who had a very high regard for him,

was invited to become professor of philosophy at the University of Wittenberg, founded in 1502 by the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise (PLATE II.). But he preferred theology, graduated Bachelor in Sacred Literature (Biblia), and began to preach in the Augustinian church at Wittenberg. From this chapel, small and unpretending, as, indeed, were the city and university, a revolution was to proceed destined to change the face of the world. In 1512, Luther received the doctor's degree from his Wittenberg colleagues; it was also almost forced upon him by Staupitz. "Master Staupitz," exclaimed the modest and reluctant candidate, "you are putting my life in danger." Meanwhile, he was drawing no salary as professor and was living poorly enough in the monastery.

What draws us strongly to Luther's somewhat narrow personality in these earlier years of his life is the sincerity and genuineness of his character. In all circumstances he devotes himself absolutely to his own strict ideal. He scornfully refuses to follow the tempting career of a jurist, or the brilliant life of a humanist; he exposes himself to the anger of his father, even, and devotes himself to theological studies, because thus alone can his conscience be satisfied. Staupitz has to force him to ascend the pulpit, for he says he is "too bad a man for so great and divine a work." But when once he has ascended it he enchains all his hearers to himself, and masters them with his own passionate convictions.

Matters connected with his convent—a dispute between Staupitz and certain of the brethren who would not submit to his reforms—took Luther to Rome in 1511. Tradition has gathered about this journey its network of legends. The only thing certain is that Luther participated faithfully and conscientiously in all the ceremonies of the Eternal City, though shocked by the purely formal worship of the Italian clergy and by their scepticism. This journey had no far-reaching consequences; it must be remembered that he had no opportunity to penetrate into the higher circles of the church. His frequent references to the trickery of the Italians are merely echoes of popular opinion.

But the inner work went on in Luther's soul. His intense respect for the literal text of the Bible led him to turn more and more away from the scholasticism of the mediaeval church. Besides St. Augustine, he read Tauler, to whom he was drawn principally by the fervent piety with which this mystic sought after divine perfection; but Luther's powerful personality preserved him from the enervating and relaxing tendencies of mysticism. He took an eager interest in the scientific discussions of his day. As early as 1510 he had sided with Reuchlin against the

PLATE II.



Frederick the Wise of Saxony.

Reduced facsimile of the engraving by Albrecht Dürer, 1524.

Cologne inquisitors, whom he does not hesitate to call donkeys. Faith in Christ he extols to his friends and pupils as the sole means of justification. In his sermons and university lectures, he frequently maintained his views on the sinfulness of all human authority, affirming that the will is not free, and that Divine Grace must be imparted to enable man to do right. This doctrine of the depravity of man was by no means limited to theology. In fact, Machiavelli's whole theory of politics rests upon the assumption of an innate wickedness which can be controlled only by fear. Luther's teachings, whereby he set the authority of the Bible against scholasticism, became popular. The young professor sought, and not without success, to make his influence felt beyond the walls of his cloister, and won the friendship of influential personages. He still considered himself a perfectly orthodox Catholic. His order, who thought that in his preaching they heard the voice of Augustine, elected him superior of the Saxe-Meissen province. Had Luther kept on in this way, he would perhaps have become the founder of a brotherhood, more or less numerous, but certainly not of a new church. What gave his career a decisive turn was his attack on an evil which had long been one of the grievances of the German nation against Rome, and was ultimately to separate it from the Holy See. "I was," he tells us later, "dead to the world, but it pleased God to call me out through Tetzel and his indulgences."

The pope, Leo X., of the family of the Medici (see Fig. 3), had, from his earliest youth, lived surrounded by cultivated authors and artists. After being made pope he endeavored to endow his court with all possible worldly splendor, and gave every encouragement to humanism, by summoning its champions about him in spite of their irreligious temper; and it was before him that the first comedies in the Italian tongue were brought out, notwithstanding their questionable morality. Machiavelli, an arch-enemy of the Romish priesthood, wrote for him. Raphael covered the walls of his palace and of his churches with gorgeous representations of ideals of sensuous beauty. Above all other things, Leo loved music, and profane music especially. He was also fond of the chase and of gay festivities. He was not really an immoral man, but he certainly was not qualified to be the supreme head of the Christian church. Of Christian sentiments and convictions little was heard at the papal court. Men often denied the immortality of the soul, and spoke mockingly of the institutions of the church. Leo's friend, Cardinal Bibbiena, was allowed habitually to refer to the king of France, his mother, and his sister, as the Holy Trinity!

Leo bent his energies to enrich his family, already so wealthy. To

procure the vast sums he needed, he obtained from the Lateran Council in 1517 the grant of a church tithe to defray the expenses of a projected war against the Turks, which he never had intended to carry on. At



FIG. 3.—Pope Leo X. and Cardinals Medici and de Rossi. Painting by Raphael, in the Pitti Palace, Florence. (From S. Jesi's engraving.)

the same time he proclaimed a general indulgence to raise funds for the restoration of the Basilica of St. Peter at Rome, an equally false pretext.

Throughout the Catholic world these repeated exactions excited intense concern. So fanatical a churchman as Cardinal Ximenes refused to recognize both tithes and indulgence. This indulgence conferred a general remission of sins. The sale of indulgences was farmed out to



FIG. 4.—Albert of Mayence. Facsimile of Albert Dürer's etching, 1519.

agents. For Middle and North Germany no less a personage than Albert, the electoral Archbishop of Mayence and Magdeburg, and brother of Joachim I. of Brandenburg, was selected. Albert (Fig. 4), like

Leo himself, was a prelate of great culture, but of very worldly inclinations. Sub-agents, mostly Dominican monks, went about in Albert's behalf, peddling their spiritual wares. In their harangues there was no mention of penitence at all; they pretended to sell remission of all sorts of sin upon the payment of fees scaled to fit all ranks of men and all grades of misdeeds.

According to the original doctrine of the church, deep, genuine penitence was above all requisite to a remission of sin; next, the penitent must also submit to a bodily penance, from which, however, he might redeem himself by "good works." During the Crusades such good works often assumed the form of a pilgrimage to Palestine, or money contributed to defray the expenses of the wars against the infidels. Thus the financial element in indulgences more and more came forward at the expense of the spiritual. This tendency was strengthened by the belief that had arisen early in the thirteenth century that the superfluous merits of the saints, no longer needed for their own salvation, formed an inexhaustible heavenly treasure for the church, which the pope might at his will sell to sinners. Thomas Aquinas had maintained and defended this opinion, and so the Dominicans, who were generally unconditional "Thomists," were the most zealous propagators of this famous doctrine.

Objections had already frequently been raised to indulgences of this kind. In the imperial diet earnest efforts had been made to put them down. John Huss, John of Wesel, indeed, the most pious and sincere among the regular clergy were opposed to them. The Augustinians especially had steadily antagonized the teaching of St. Thomas, and consequently of his devoted followers, the Dominicans; Luther's position on the question was therefore, in a measure, settled beforehand. A deeper reason, however, his own intense belief in faith as the only means of justification, made him the decided opponent of any extreme view of the efficiency of "works." Furthermore, the indulgences were brought close to him by the boldest and most objectionable Dominican agent, John Tetzel. Some of Luther's parishioners bought indulgences of Tetzel, and when Luther, in spite of these, refused them absolution without further penance for their sins, they complained to Tetzel. Then the zealous and conscientious pastor could no longer remain silent, and complained to his metropolitan, the electoral Archbishop Albert. Albert, however, was himself a prime-mover in the sale of indulgences, and did not condescend to notice Luther. The powerless subordinate bishops advised Luther to be silent. But his indignation at the abuse and iniquity was too strong, and his fear of the harm that might befall

thousands of souls too sharp, to allow him to listen to such prudent warnings. He would not, he dared not, remain silent. And yet it was most rash for a poor monk to enter the lists against his archbishop, who was besides an elector of the empire, nay, against the pope himself. Where higher interests, however, were at stake, Luther knew no fear of personal consequences. On October 31, 1517, he nailed to the door of All Saints' Church in Wittenberg ninety-five theses against indulgences, under the title, *Disputatio Dr. Martini Lutheri theologi pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum*. These theses were not so much detached propositions as one continuous detailed discussion; they did not attack the remission of external penances, but the remission of repentance, and the idea that souls could be released from purgatory by papal authority.

Such a disputation was in itself a common enough occurrence; what was unusual was the fact that in a matter of such importance, when princes and bishops were dumb, a bold monk dared to give expression to the national feeling. Within a fortnight Luther's theses flew over all Germany, and his adversaries saw to it that they were not forgotten in an equally short time. Luther had at first, in accordance with the wish of an ecclesiastical superior, decided to say no more now that he had satisfied his conscience by this public expression of his indignation. Such conduct on his part would have probably led to a collapse of the opposition to indulgences, especially as the Elector of Saxony had himself, at an earlier date, shared in the revenue derived from them, and was not, therefore, averse to them.

The Dominicans, however, would not allow their antagonists to have the last word; Tetzel had himself made doctor by the University of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and presented a disputation directly opposed to Luther's theses. Silvester Prierias, the prior-general of the Dominicans in Rome, wrote a contemptuous reply to "a certain Luther" (*nescio cui Luther*)—a remark that reminds one of Napoleon I. and his "a certain Stein" (*un nommé Stein*). The Cologne inquisitor, Hogstraaten, who had failed to get Reuchlin condemned, now urged that this Saxon heretic be burned without delay. An unexpected ally for the Dominicans appeared in the person of one of Luther's old friends, Dr. Johann von Eck, professor of theology in Ingolstadt, a gifted humanist, but bitterly opposed to mysticism. Early in 1518 he published his "Obelisci" against Luther. But Luther was not the man to submit patiently to such attacks; they spurred him on to advance further on the path he had begun to tread, and he answered his assailants. In March, 1518, appeared his first polemical work in German, the sermon on "In-

dulgence and Grace." It was eagerly read, eighteen editions appearing in less than three years. Other works—also in German—followed, in which he not only maintained the theses he had advanced, but went considerably beyond them. "Indulgences are not commanded, are of no use, and utterly unnecessary to happiness." Still he had no thought of separation from the church, but declared himself wholly submissive to the Holy Father. He hoped for the approval of Leo X., known to be an enlightened and placable man, and dedicated to him the "Resolutions" to his ninety-five theses. But he made no secret of the fact that he had no thought of retraction; he would only practice passive obedience, and would readily submit to death if the pope thought he deserved it. Interest gathered fast around a struggle that many cultivated men had at first been disposed to consider as a mere quarrel of monks. The opponents of Luther were looked upon as enemies of the German nation. His cause had become the nation's.

It was for the church a momentous matter, that at this critical juncture it had as its head a pope who had neither interest nor skill for theological discussions; who looked upon Luther's dispute with Tetzel simply as a friars' dispute, and refused to condemn a man of such great mental gifts. Emperor Maximilian, on his part, was just as little disposed to give assistance to the inquisitors; the friendly attitude of the pope toward France had alienated him, and he wrote, in consequence, to the Elector of Saxony "to take good care of the monk"; he might yet be of use. Frederick the Wise scarcely needed such a warning. He, too, found it hard to bear the papal exactions; he was at odds with the Archbishop of Mayence, and, moreover, it delighted him to see that Luther's great popularity with the German youth was drawing crowds of students to his university at Wittenberg. Besides all this, the elector was a man of sincere piety, who liked Luther's character and his endeavors toward reform. It was thus easy for him to befriend his Wittenberg professor of theology and promise him his protection.

Leo was finally prevailed upon to summon Luther to Rome. To obey the summons would have been certain destruction. Happily the electors of Saxony and the Palatinate interceded for him, and Leo consented to order Luther to appear at the diet of Augsburg in October, 1518, before his legate, who happened to be visiting Germany for the purpose of securing financial aid for the church. This legate was the cardinal Tommaso de Vio, Bishop of Gaeta, usually called, therefore, Cajetan, a zealous and learned champion of papal absolutism. The cardinal, looking down contemptuously upon the simple monk, assumed a lofty manner and demanded unconditional retraction and submission.

Luther, though awed at first by the august presence of the renowned prelate and ready to make a partial submission, recovered his courage at this manifestation of Italian arrogance. He met the authority of the pope with that of Holy Writ, and referred to the appeal that the University of Paris had once made from the pope to a general council. This interview, which lasted several days, ended by Luther's appealing from an ill-informed to a better-informed pope; then to escape harm he hastily withdrew to Wittenberg.

Cajetan was already so disliked by the German princes on account of his demands for money for the church that he did not dare publish against Luther the ban which he had prepared. He contented himself with requesting Frederick either to hand Luther over or at least to banish him. The elector refused to do either until the heresy of his professor should be more clearly proved.

At this moment the political situation came to Luther's aid, in that it constrained the pope to treat with special consideration the Elector of Saxony, at this time the leading German prince. Emperor Maximilian died, January 12, 1519, after a short illness. The situation was most serious, for no successor had been chosen. Toward the close of his life, Maximilian had labored to secure the election of his oldest grandson, Charles I. of Spain, as king of the Romans, and, to this end he had bargained with five electors, who, in consideration of large sums of money, bound themselves to vote for Charles. The Spanish king had a powerful and ambitious rival in Francis I. of France, then at the height of his power.

The pope, who was himself a close ally of the French, declared himself in favor of Francis, and Cajetan, as was natural, followed his superior. This step greatly aided Luther's cause. Public opinion in Germany was utterly opposed to the French candidacy, and also, in the present circumstances, to the pope and his legate. Luther's metropolitan superior, the Archbishop of Mayence, was at the head of the Austrian party, which favored Charles of Spain, and hardly inclined, therefore, to proceed severely against the Wittenberg monk to please the pope, who favored Francis I.

The pope, who was anxious not to alienate the powerful Elector Frederick of Saxony, decided to settle this question amicably if possible. He entrusted the task to his shrewd and politic chamberlain, Miltitz, a native of Saxony. The latter proceeded with caution and prudence. He distinctly declared himself opposed to the sale of indulgences, and treated Tetzel so ill that he soon afterward died of vexation. In an interview had with Luther at Altenburg in 1519, Miltitz requested

of him no retractation, but simply silence for the future in a dispute that disturbed the whole of Christendom. The subtle courtier succeeded in persuading the headstrong priest; Luther promised to remain silent, if his adversaries would do the same. In a German pamphlet, his "Apology," he modified his former positions, by recognizing the mediation of saints, purgatory, and even indulgences themselves as an external expiation, and by recommending submission to the head of the Catholic church (March, 1519). This attitude shows that his final severance from the church must have cost him bitter moments.

Rome seemed once more to have rid herself of a highly dangerous foe. But the inconsiderate zeal of a conceited and reckless dialectician kindled anew the flames of discord. Johann von Eck had arranged to hold a discussion in the University of Leipsic with Karlstadt, a colleague and, at that time, a friend of Luther's, an honest but passionate man. In the theses published in advance of the disputation, Eck attacked not Karlstadt alone, but also, as a foeman more worthy of his steel, Luther himself. The latter, seeing that his antagonist did not remain silent, thought himself released from his conditional promise to Miltitz. He wished especially to break a lance with Eck on this most burning question—the foundation and limits of the authority of the pope.

It was at this time that Luther met his truest and most useful friend and helper, Philip Schwarzerd (Fig. 5), a name which was translated after the fashion of the humanists into Greek as Melancthon (born 1497). This man, having been given a start in education by his uncle, the great Reuchlin, soon distinguished himself by his extraordinary scholarship. In January, 1519, at his uncle's recommendation, he came to Wittenberg as professor of Greek and Hebrew, and, in spite of his youth, soon manifested wonderful ability as a teacher and writer. With Luther he early contracted the closest friendship, based, partly at least, on the fact that the two possessed qualities so opposite. Melancthon was mild, amiable, and far more learned than Luther, who, on the other hand, far surpassed him in strength of character and in depth and courage of conviction. Both were equally earnest in the pursuit of truth. The Leipsic disputation took place in July, 1519, in the presence of Duke George, of the younger Saxon line, and many other high personages. Luther paid dearly now for his want of consistency in rejecting certain decisions of the pope, while wishing to maintain intact his spiritual primacy, even though it was merely a historical creation of human hands. He was easily dislodged from this untenable position by Eck's arguments and had to acknowledge that he shared in certain Hussite views; that he denied the infallibility of councils, popes and

fathers ; and that he relied on Holy Scripture as the only all-sufficient authority. Eck gloried in his apparent dialectic victory. But the really important result of the disputation was that the Wittenberg monk assumed an attitude hostile to the Roman church. In a letter written two months after this disputation, Luther already discriminates between



FIG. 5.—Melancthon. Facsimile of Albert Dürer's etching.

the Catholic church, to which he, as a faithful son, belongs, and the Roman church, which he condemns most severely. With this renunciation of allegiance to Rome, Luther drew to himself all the more pronounced elements of the opposition. The University of Erfurt ranged itself distinctly on his side, as did also most humanists, delighted that their

scholastic antagonists had at last found their match. Even Erasmus, usually so prudent, threw the weight of his reputation into the scales on the side of Luther. The students of Wittenberg, Erfurt, Heidelberg, followed eagerly in the new paths. Humanism and Lutherism united to conquer a common foe. The German people, whom three hundred



FIG. 6. — Ulrich von Hutten. Faesimile of a contemporary anonymous woodcut.

years of invective against Rome had prepared for a change, now went over to Luther in a large majority. For the first time in Germany there appeared that secret power which we call public opinion, and it was on Luther's side. Innumerable pamphlets and satires in prose and verse gave expression and extension to the new feeling.

Henceforth Luther went forward fearlessly and steadily. The Leipsic disputation had been a turning-point in his whole way of thinking and feeling. By studying the writings of Huss he found he was himself a German Hussite. From a treatise of Lorenzo Valla he learned that the famous Donation of Constantine had been invented to favor the claims of the supposed successors of St. Peter, and that the whole temporal power of the papacy was based on a deception. Henceforth this papacy appeared to his excited, mystical temperament as the kingdom of anti-christ. Melanchthon undertook to give a scholarly foundation to this anti-papal spirit; he studiously compared the church Fathers with the Bible, and believed that he found convincing proof of the fallacy of the church dogmas concerning transubstantiation, the seven sacraments, and the infallibility of the pope. Thus Melanchthon, whose views were adopted by his friend, contributed at least as much as Luther himself to the development of Protestant theology.

No one was filled with more zeal for the reformers than the fiery knight, Ulrich Von Hutten (Fig. 6), who in 1517 had been crowned



FIG. 7.—The Insignia of a Court Poet. From a woodcut, ascribed to Albert Dürer.

as court poet (Fig. 7) by the Emperor Maximilian I. Heretofore he had remained aloof from religious movements; they now interested him, because they were directed against mediaeval reactionary ideas. In the temper of the times, revolution had much in common with license. "What

a delight," he exclaimed, "is it to live to-day!" As he had before secured Franz von Sickingen for Reuchlin, he now succeeded in enlisting him in behalf of Luther, as well as many other knights who were attracted by the prospect of making war upon, and plundering, rich magnates. The goodwill of these great nobles greatly cheered Luther, who had the worst to fear from the papal court and was by no means confident of the continued friendship of his own sovereign. The reformer wrote to Hutten that he "set more reliance on Sickingen, and hoped more from him, than from any prince on earth."

Hutten supported the reformer with his pen as well as his sword. In 1520 he issued five dialogues against the church; the ablest of these was "Vadiscus, or the Romish Trinity," in which irony and satire are mingled with Bible quotations. In the archives Hutten found various documents relative to the history of the church that could be used in confirmation of his views, and these he published with powerful introductions.

Meanwhile, Eck had gone to Rome to turn his Leipsic triumph to good effect, by obtaining a formal condemnation of Luther. But, cheered by repeated proofs that the German nobility were in sympathy with him, Luther was undismayed, and even wrote with renewed zeal to his old friend Spalatin: "We must, at last, expose the mysteries of Antichrist." In June, 1520, he issued his famous "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation on the Improvement of the Christian Condition." The leading arguments of this strong, convincing Address are: First, there is no special spiritual order; all Christians are priests. This is an important doctrine, which, as accepted by Wycliffe and Huss, leads to a complete revolution in the conception and organization of the church; in later years Luther failed to maintain it with perfect consistency. Secondly, the authority of the pope is subordinate to that of the Scriptures. Thirdly, the pope does not alone possess the right to summon general councils; they can be convoked without him, and even against him. Starting from these points, Luther sketched a plan of reformation for all the spiritual errors and disorders in the church. But Luther was constructive as well as destructive; in his mind arose a new church destined to supplant that of Rome. He desired to turn monasteries into schoolhouses, and to change their random almsgiving into a systematic care of the poor.

Rome saw at length that compromise with such an antagonist was out of the question. Eck, the Dominican monks, and the Cologne inquisitors, all urged the pope so strongly to take decisive action, that on June 15, 1520, he published the bull *Ecclesie Domine*, which con-

demned forty-one propositions out of Luther's writings, consigned his books to the flames, and granted him and his adherents a respite of sixty days, at the expiration of which time, if still obdurate, they were to suffer as heretics (Fig. 8).

The two men selected to circulate the bull through Germany and enforce it were Aleander, an adroit Italian cardinal, and Luther's old enemy, Eck; the former was to look out for the diplomatic matters, the latter for the theological questions. The choice of Eck was a gross blunder on the part of the church, for the fact that he was known as a personal enemy of Luther made the bull appear an expression of hostile partisanship. In South Germany alone did it have any marked influence; there many, who, like the distinguished Willibald Pirckheimer, had at first favored Luther, fell away from him; the same was true along the Rhine, where the electoral Archbishop of Mayence was obliged, much against his will, to dismiss from his service Hutten, who thereupon betook himself to the castle of his friend Sickingen. In Bavaria several bishops refused to allow the publication of the bull; the ruling duke wisely sent word to them neither to condemn nor to approve Luther's doctrine. In Northern Germany, the seat of the heresy, the bull had an effect quite the opposite of that intended. None of the Saxon bishops dared to publish it. In Leipsic Eck was so harshly treated that he fled from the city with all haste; at Erfurt the faculty and students of the university regarded him with special hate as a recreant humanist, and even laid violent hands on him as well as on the "devilish bull." Eck was glad to escape with his life. Finally, the University of Wittenberg rejected the bull on the ground that it was "unlawful." Elector Frederick refused to use the arm of the law against Luther. A remark of Erasmus is said to have influenced him to side with Luther: "Luther has made two mistakes—he has tapped the pope on his crown, and the monks on their bellies."

Everywhere feelings were stirred. Luther himself, encouraged on all sides by politicians and scholars, resolved to abandon delay and to oppose war with war. Mildness and forbearance were foreign to his fiery nature; convinced of the rightfulness of his own views, he considered all who differed from him mere liars and rascals. As early as July 10, 1520, he wrote to Spalatin: "As far as I am concerned the die is cast; I despise alike Rome's wrath and her favor; I will never have anything in common with her; the humility I have so long shown without any advantage is at an end." Such is his temper henceforth. Pamphlet followed pamphlet, each more fervid than the other: "On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church" and "On the Freedom of a Christian Man."

Bulla contra Erro res Martini Lutheri et sequarium .

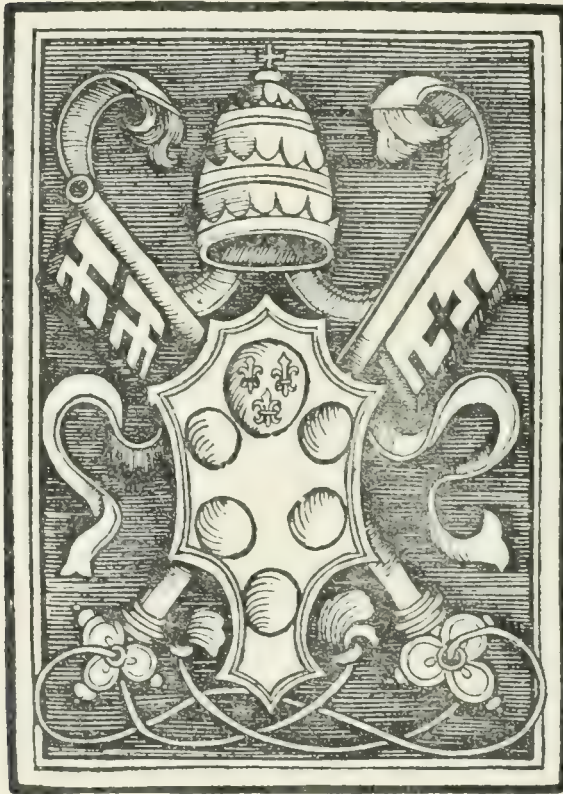


FIG. 8. —Pope Leo X.'s bull of excommunication against Luther, which Luther burned December 10, 1520. Facsimile of the first two pages of the original edition in Latin, dated July 17, 1520.

Leo Episcopus Ser

uus seruatorum Dei/Ad perpetuā rei memoriā. **Exurge domine** ⁊ ūs
dica causam tuā/memo ⁊ esto īmpriorū tuorū/eorū que ab īn-
sipientibus fiunt tota die/inclina aurem tuā ad preces nostras/quon-
iam surrexerūt vulpes querentes demoliri vinā/ cuius tu Torcu-
lar calcasti solus/et ascensurus ad patrē/eius curam/regimen/et ad
ministratiōē Petro tanq̃ capiti/et tuo Vicario/eiusq̃ successoris
bus instar triumphantis ecclesie cōmisisti/exterminare nititur eam
Aper de silua/et singularis serus depasci eam. **Exurge Petre**/et pro
pastorali curg prefata tibi (vt prefertur) diuinitus de mādāta/intē-
de in causam sanete Romān. ecclesie/marris omniū ecclesiarū/ ac fī
dei magistre/quā tu/iubente deo/tiſo sanguine consecrasti/ contra
quam sicut tu promonere dignatus es/insurgunt magistri mendaces
introducētes sectas perditionis sibi celerē interitum superdu-
centes/quorū lingua ignis est/inquietum malū/plena veneno mor-
tifero/qui zelum amarum habentes/et contentiones in cordib⁹ su-
is/gloriant/et mendaces sunt aduersus veritatem. **Exurge tu quoq̃**
quod sumus Paule/qui eas tua doctrina/ac pari martyrio illuminas-
ti/atq̃ illustrasti. Jam enī surgit nouus Porphyrus / qui sicut ille
olim sanctos Apostolos inuiste nō mordit. Ita hic sanctos Ponti-
fices predecessores nostros cōtra tuā doctrinā eos non obsecrādo/
sed lacerando/mordere/lacerare/ac vbi cause sue diffidit/ ad con-
uitia accedere nō veret/morē hereticorū quorū (vt inquit Hieronī-
mus) vltimū presidū est/ vt cum conspiciant causas suas damna-
tum iri/incipiant virus serpentis lingua diffundere / et cū se victos
conspiciant/ad contumelias proſilere. Nam licet hereses esse ad ex-
ercitatiōē fidelīū tu dixeris oportere / eas tñ ne incrementū accipi-
ant/neue vulpecule coalescāt/in ipso oru/te intercedēte/ ⁊ adiuvāte/
extingui necesse est. **Exurgat** deniq̃ omnis sanctorū/ac reliquis vniuer-
salis ecclesia/cuius vera sacrarū litterarū interpretatiōe posthabita/
quidā/quorū mentē pater mendaciū excecavit/ et veteri hereticorū
instituto/apud semetipsos sapientes / scripturas easdem aliter quā
Spiritus sanctus flagitet/ pprio dūtaxat sensu/ambitionis/aureq̃
popularis causa/teste Ap̃lo/interpretant/imo vero torquēt/et ad-
alterant. Ita vt iuxta Hieronimū/nō sit euangeliū Chriſti/ sed
hominis/aut quod peius est/Diaboli. **Exurgat** inquā prefata eccle-

An den Christli- chen Adel deutscher Nation von des Christlichen Standes besserung. D. Martinus Luther



FIG. 9. Facsimile of the Title-page of Luther's "Address to the German Nobility."

He drops theological hair-splittings, and takes a patriotic stand, turning to the mass of the people and addressing them in their own language. He explained in popular phraseology the great questions of church and



FIG. 10. Luther the Monk. Etching by Lucas Cranach, 1520.

state, that for centuries had disturbed the nation. These writings helped to create a mighty Lutheran party among the German people, by giving them a good dogmatic training. The primacy of the pope is wholly rejected. In the Lord's Supper physical transubstantiation is denied, but the actual bread is described as also the true body, the actual wine as also the true blood of Christ. Baptism is emphasized as the most important sacrament; confession is retained, but the priest is no longer the exclusive confessor. The other sacraments, confirmation, consecration, marriage, and anointment, are denied their sacramental virtue. The times were ripe for these significant and far-reaching changes. Luther's writings met with unexampled success. Edition followed edition in rapid succession. In one single month 4000 copies of the "Address to the German Nobility" (Fig. 9) were sold, and a single book dealer at the Leipsic fair disposed of 1400 copies of Luther's works.

Under these circumstances, Miltitz made one last attempt to bring about a reconciliation. At the request of the Elector Frederick, Luther met the pope's chamberlain, and was persuaded to address one more letter, the last, to Leo X. (October, 1520). The style of the letter shows that it was written more from external pressure than internal conviction. Though Luther still addressed the pope as "Holy Father" in this letter, he said the Roman see was more deceitful and more shameful than ever was Sodom, Gomorrah, or Babylon, words not calculated to win over the pope. Luther thought the time had now come to give emphatic expression to the protest he had already raised in many pamphlets against the bull of condemnation. In presence, therefore, of a large number of professors and students of the university, he publicly burned at Wittenberg the books of canon law, some pamphlets directed against him, and, most important of all, the papal bull (December 10, 1520). "It is much to be desired," he said on this occasion, "that the pope—that is, the Roman see, with all its teachers and abominations—were likewise burned up." This was a definite break from Rome, and proclaimed unmistakably to every one that the struggle had begun. Luther knew how to work on the people; the burning of the bull had a far greater effect than printed volumes. The attention of Germany turned more and more intently toward this fearless man. "Day and night," Hutten wrote enthusiastically to him, "will I serve you without reward; I will enlist for you many a brave hero; you shall be captain; everything depends upon your command."

What attitude would the emperor assume toward this mighty movement?—a question of supreme importance, not for Luther (Fig. 10) alone, but for the whole nation.

CHAPTER II.

CHARLES V.

NEVER in the history of mankind did a child come into the world with the promise of a grander future than the boy Charles, who, on February 24, 1500, was born in Ghent to Philip of Austria and the Spanish Infanta Joanna. His parents were already lords of a great and rich domain—the seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands, then the most populous and prosperous country in the world, and the Free County of Burgundy (*Franche-Comté*). His probable inheritance from his grandparents was much more brilliant. His father's father was the Emperor Maximilian I., who would leave him the German possessions of the House of Hapsburg and their claims to the imperial crown; his mother's parents, Ferdinand and Isabella, were to give him the whole Spanish peninsula (with the exception of Portugal), as well as Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the sovereignty over the limitless lands of the newly-discovered western continent. Thus one-half of the civilized world was one day to belong to this Charles; he was to secure mastery of the world, and then fulfil the fond hopes of great power which had ever floated before the mind of Maximilian and his Hapsburg predecessors. Meanwhile, this future ruler of the world led a far sadder youth than falls to the share of most children. He never knew what tender parental care was. Before he was two years old his parents went to Spain to secure recognition by the Cortes of Castile and Aragon of their claim to the succession of the crown of those two countries. Philip returned to the Netherlands first, in 1503; Joanna remained a year longer in Spain, and gave birth to a second son, Ferdinand. There was little affection now between the husband and wife; Philip, weary of his not very prepossessing wife, sought love adventures elsewhere; while Joanna, who really loved her husband passionately, had her naturally gloomy spirit made more wretched by his faithlessness.

This ill-mated pair cared little for their eldest son, and in January, 1506, both left him again to go and take possession of the throne of Castile, left vacant by the death of Isabella the Catholic. The father never saw his son again, for Philip died suddenly on September 25, 1506, in his twenty-eighth year. Joanna was shut up in the royal

castle of Tordesillas by her father Ferdinand, who declared to the world that she had gone insane from grief over her husband's death, but who in reality wished to secure the throne of Castile for himself. Charles was thus left practically an orphan. Though Charles became nominally ruler of the Netherlands, Emperor Maximilian, as his guardian, entrusted the government of these provinces to his daughter, Margaret of Austria, who was greatly loved in the Low Countries, and who had the care of her nephew's education. He was surrounded exclusively by Netherlanders. His chief tutor was William of Croy, lord of Chièvres, an ambitious, but really inferior man, who sought to win his pupil's favor by obsequious affability. Adrian Floriszoon, a Louvain professor of moderate ability, who acted as private tutor, inspired the young prince with an ardent zeal for the Catholic faith in its purer form. History was a favorite study with Charles. In other branches, especially in Latin, he made but slow progress, and had no interest in scholastic pursuits. He had a much keener zest for the acquisition of knightly accomplishments, and, till ill-health interfered, was expert in tournaments, in dances, and even in bull-fighting. From his grandfather, Maximilian, Charles inherited also a passionate love for hunting. But what was most noteworthy was the grave and dignified earnestness which was early developed in his character. He always retained a grateful memory of his tutors, and, as he grew up, Chièvres became his principal adviser. In 1515 he was formally declared of age. But the calm, circumspect, apparently unintellectual young Duke of Luxemburg, withered by a joyless youth, still continued after 1515 to leave the cares of government in the hands of Chièvres and his other favorites. These, nearly all of French origin, drew him into the French party in European politics, and succeeded in fostering in him a violent hatred for his grandfather, Ferdinand, who was withholding from him his Castilian inheritance.

On the first day of January, 1515, Louis XII. of France suddenly died; an excellent and well-loved ruler, who, however, had been unfortunate in his foreign politics, having lost Naples to Spain, and Milan, to which he had claims, to young Massimiliano Sforza. As he left no male heir, he was succeeded by his cousin and son-in-law, Francis of Angoulême, of the younger line of Valois-Orleans. Francis I. had many brilliant qualities; he was ardent and ambitious, cultivated, fond of poetry and art, and in short, the most elegant cavalier in his kingdom. But these gifts could not atone for his great faults—an unbridled love of pleasure, gross immorality, and a despotic love of power. He lacked perseverance, and took no genuine interest in the welfare of his people. His mother, Louise of Savoy, by encouraging

his vicious propensities, had obtained an overwhelming influence over him.

A prince like Francis I. (Fig. 11), ambitious and fond of glory, was naturally eager to repair the defeats suffered by French arms in the last two centuries. He first took up, therefore, the task already begun by his predecessor—the conquest of Milan. In order to cover his rear



FIG. 11.—Francis I., King of France. Medallion in gilded bronze, by an artist of the French school of the sixteenth century.

against the threatening hostility of old Ferdinand the Catholic, Francis was glad to make a friendly treaty with the government of the Netherlands (March, 1515).

The prospects of the young king of France were at this time most favorable. Ferdinand was unfit for vigorous action, on account of sickness and old age; Emperor Maximilian, as usual, was without funds;

and Charles, the heir of both, was his friend. Francis had to deal, therefore, only with Massimiliano Sforza's mercenary troops, the Swiss. Against these he had an army of 70,000 men, among whom were 20,000 German foot, and 6000 German cavalry, together with 370 cannon. In addition, Venice had promised him assistance. At Marignano, near Milan, the decisive battle was fought. On the first day the Swiss, though numerically inferior, were successful; on the following day (September 14, 1515), the struggle was renewed, when the Swiss suddenly heard in their rear the cry "San Marco." The Venetians had come to help the French. The Swiss now retreated in good order, first to Milan, finally into Switzerland. The battle of Marignano had a stunning effect. Though the Venetians had decided the victory, the French assumed the whole glory of it. For the first time in two hundred years the Swiss had been defeated in the field. The charm of their invincibility was broken, and seemed to have passed over to their conquerors. Spanish and papal troops retreated, without a blow, into the States of the Church and Naples. Massimiliano Sforza capitulated, and was sent with a suitable retinue to France, where he spent fifteen years in retirement. The whole duchy of Milan fell into the hands of the French. Pope Leo X. went over to their side, with his relatives, the Medici of Florence. By the treaty of Viterbo, Francis confirmed to the pope the possession of the States of the Church, and to the Medici the sovereignty of Tuscany; as a return, Leo conceded to the French king the duchy of Milan, Parma, and Piacenza. This secular agreement was followed by a religious one, the Concordat of 1516: in return for important pecuniary advantages, the pope agreed to leave the whole management of the Gallican church in the hands of the crown. Francis was thus triumphant on all points, and his fame in Europe unbounded.

Italy was no longer the political centre of Europe. Ferdinand the Catholic, the most adroit and unscrupulous politician of his day, died on January 23, 1516, and Charles succeeded to the vast Spanish empire as Charles I. of Spain. In spite of the resistance of the nobles of Castile, who still regarded his imprisoned mother, Joanna, as the rightful sovereign, Charles, with the aid of Cardinal Ximenes, got himself proclaimed king, before taking the usual oath to the constitution. But as it was impracticable for him to proceed at once to Spain, Cardinal Ximenes, in accordance with the expressed wish of Ferdinand, assumed the regency. Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros, now eighty years of age, had early denied the world to enter the church, where he had become filled with an honest but narrow-minded zeal. Through his ambition, persistency, political shrewdness, and great reputation for austerity of life, he had

gradually risen to the position of confessor to Queen Isabella, and was finally created Archbishop of Toledo, primate and grand-inquisitor of Spain.

Placed at the helm of the Spanish empire, Ximenes merely followed the bent of his character in seeking to establish the absolute power of the crown. The means which he used to secure dictatorial power for himself did irremediable harm to Spain. In spite of some brilliant external results, the decay of Spain in population and industry begins with his unexampled political and religious oppression at home and insane plans of universal monarchy abroad. Though he set the finances in order, recovered for the crown domains what had become alienated, strengthened the army and navy, he cared little for the rights of individuals. To the commands of his young master old Ximenes paid not the least attention. Hence, it was imperative that Charles should appear in Spain in person, to check the cardinal's growing arrogance. But he dared not leave the Netherlands without securing the friendship of France, and so, on August 13, 1516, he concluded the Treaty of Noyon with Francis I., to put an end to the quarrels of the two powers over Italy. Charles was betrothed to the French king's daughter, Louise, then only a year old, and was to receive with her, as dowry, the French claims to the kingdom of Naples. Meanwhile, he was, by the yearly payment of 100,000 thalers, to retain possession of that country. The text of the treaty seemed to imply that Francis was master of the situation, but in reality the only tangible advantages were on the side of the less demonstrative but more prudent Spaniard—these were, his peaceful ascension to the Spanish throne and his continued occupancy of Naples.

Charles landed on the northern coast of his Castilian kingdom, in September, 1517. He had been strongly prejudiced against Cardinal Ximenes by his Netherland advisers, some of whom had been to Spain to carry their master's messages, and had experienced there a taste of the cardinal's arbitrary rule. To prevent the clever Ximenes from getting power over him by kindness or by force, Charles ordered him to withdraw immediately to his diocese. But before this cold and ungrateful message could reach the aged archbishop, who had already started on his way to meet his young sovereign, he was overtaken by death (November, 1517). Thus this pain, which is usually said to have hastened his death, was really spared him.

It was now necessary to get rid of the rightful sovereign, Queen Joanna, who still lived a prisoner in the castle of Tordesillas. By flattery and artifice, Charles and Chièvres obtained from her plenipotentiary power to administer the government, which was now conducted under

the name of Joanna and Charles, though Joanna was cruelly recommitted to her former dreary existence. Charles, bent only on his personal advantage, did nothing to alleviate the condition of the mother and queen. For a while his sway exerted the bitterest dissatisfaction among the proud Castilians. The most influential and profitable offices in state and church were filled by unworthy foreigners from the Netherlands, mostly relatives and friends of Chièvres. His nephew, twenty years of age, was made Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spain!

Having thus succeeded in uniting Spain and the Netherlands, Charles now took steps to obtain the third great inheritance which the ambition of his ancestors had won for him—the German possessions of the house of Hapsburg, left vacant by the death of his grandfather, Maximilian, in January, 1519. His most dangerous rival for the crown of the empire was his prospective father-in-law, Francis I.

These two entered upon a fierce diplomatic struggle for what was in honor, if not in power, the first crown in Christendom. Charles founded his claims on his descent, on his position as German prince, and on the wide extent of his dominions; Francis, on his victories, on his recently won fame, and on the favor of the anti-Hapsburg party in Germany. The history of this election, and of the despicable traffic which most of the electors made of their votes, is a cause of shame for the Germans; yet it is a comfort to see how, through all these meannesses, the true and lasting interests of the nation asserted themselves.

The Elector Joachim of Brandenburg sold himself with unexampled faithlessness, now to France, now to Spain, meaning all the time, if possible, to secure the crown for himself. Frederick the Wise, however, kept himself aloof from all corruption, and refused absolutely to bind himself in any way. The struggle lasted for months. This, of itself, was of great advantage to the Reformation; there was no single power in the empire that could directly oppose it. Besides, the administration of the empire was, according to custom, vested for the south in the Elector Palatine, who had already shown himself friendly to Luther, and for the north, in his good protector, the Elector of Saxony.

The pope, being opposed to Charles's supremacy in Naples, did his best, through his adherents in Germany, to promote the interests of the French king. Francis himself sent numerous secret agents to Germany, but especially his favorite, Admiral de Bonniwet, with 400,000 gold crowns as persuasion money. Charles, who remained in distant Spain, found a skilled manager in his aunt, Margaret of Austria, to whom he had restored the regency of the Netherlands, and whose Spanish double-ducats were still more persuasive than the French crowns. Margaret,

moreover, was thoroughly at home in German politics, while Bonnivet did not at all understand the conditions with which he had to deal, and offended men like Robert de la Mark and his friend, Franz von Sickingen, whom France would have been glad to secure, but who accepted the overtures of Spain. The pope, by taking sides with France, renewed the memories of the Guelf and Ghibelline quarrels, and intensified, not only among the people, but also among the princes, the long pent-up dissatisfaction at the assumptions of the Holy See. These princes were inclined to manifest their independence by electing Charles, for the very reason that the papal court had declared against it. There were other important factors in the election: Francis surpassed his rival in actual power, in glory, and in proximity to Germany; but these very things were unfavorable to his election, because the German princes dreaded lest he should impose on Germany such a monarchical absolutism as he had already established in France. Nor were the forty years of active hostility between the French kings and the emperors over Burgundian and Italian matters without their effect. The French were the hereditary foes of the empire, whereas Charles was the descendant of emperors who had ruled acceptably to the German people.

With a single exception, that of the Electoral Archbishop of Treves, the electors finally rather inclined to Charles; his cause was, however, won by a brilliant victory of the Austrian party in another matter. Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg had for a long time been at odds with his subjects, his neighbors, and the imperial power, by his cruel and arbitrary conduct as well as his scandalous private life. The death of Maximilian had alone saved him from the execution of an imperial decree already proclaimed against him. He had looked for protection to France, whose most zealous partisan he was. When, however, he seized the imperial city of Reutlingen, the Swabian League, formed for the upholding of order and peace, declared war against him, and Franz von Sickingen assumed the command of the army of more than 20,000 men against him. Ulrich saw himself forsaken by all, even including Francis I., who did not wish to harm his suit for the imperial crown by taking too active a part in German affairs. The League found no resistance anywhere, and by the end of April, 1519 the duke was obliged to leave the country.

This success of the Austrian party brought the waverers over to its side. The Elector Palatine joined the partisans of Charles, and Frederick of Saxony, who would much have preferred some one else rather than either of the foreigners, would not hear of the election of a Frenchman. Sickingen advanced with the victorious Swabian army, determined, if it came to the worst, to force the princes to elect Charles. Once more the

electors went to Frederick the Wise to ask him to accept the crown, and thus prevent the enthroning of a foreigner. It is not easy to-day to decide whether or not his acceptance would have proved a blessing to Germany; it is probable that he was right in refusing the crown, as he had not sufficient power to preserve the imperial dignity and authority. At any rate, his refusal made the choice plain; the electors, thereupon, unanimously choose Charles of Austria and Spain as King of the Romans and Emperor Charles V. (June 28, 1519).

The princes sought to hedge in the vast power of the new emperor; they prepared an agreement which he had to sign before his coronation. This act affected more essentially the electors themselves: it led to the establishment of an imperial council without whose consent the chief of the empire could not undertake any war, conclude any treaty, nor even summon a diet, or submit any proposition to the diet when summoned; in short, they were to share the government fully with him. Further, the emperor was neither to bring foreign soldiers to Germany, nor cite German princes before a foreign court, nor hold diets outside of German territory.

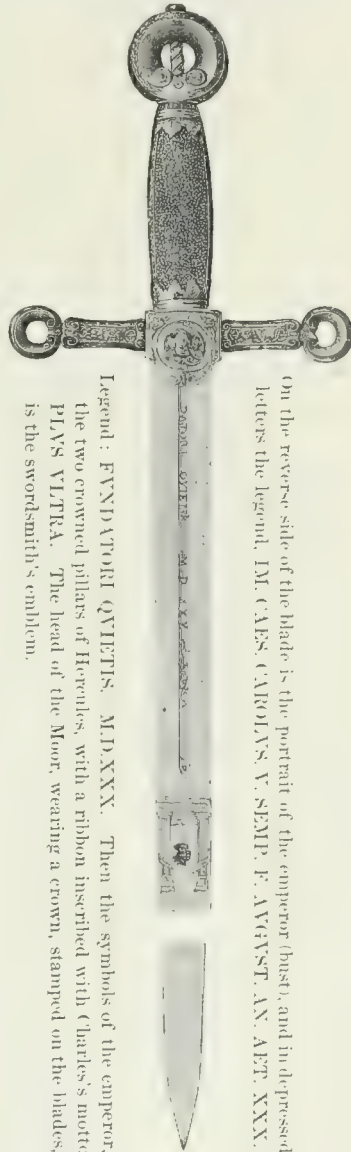
The electors thought that they had bound the hands of the mighty sovereign, but they were mistaken. What Frederick III. and Maximilian I. had labored for with indefatigable persistency was at length secured: a Hapsburg universal empire had arisen such as had never before been seen. Emperor Charles V. (Fig. 12) was powerful enough to dictate laws to all other states. In spite of this, however, men had as yet a mean opinion of the personality of this new emperor. Everything in him seemed slow and hesitating. In person he was of middle size, and well proportioned. His eyes, like his mother's, had a melancholy expression, which was intensified by pallor and thinness resulting from an early disease, as well as by a very prominent under-jaw. His hair was light blonde, almost red. His speech was indistinct, and consequently seemed uncertain. His broad brow alone betokened a powerful intellect. He was thought to depend altogether on his councillors, especially Chievres, and his chancellor, Mercurio Gattinara.

Soon, however, it became known that he took an exceedingly active share in all affairs of state, and shortly after his election to the sovereignty of the empire he became the soul of his administration. Under an appearance of indolence he slowly matured designs that embraced the world and combined the plans of his German and Spanish ancestors. In his mind the national interests of the various lands under his rule were often simply means to attain his great end. Though sovereign of Spain and Germany, Charles was connected with neither of these countries by

birth, by his speech, or by his education and early surroundings. He was primarily a Netherlander, and always kept up a certain intercourse with the land of his birth and youth. His mother-tongue was the Walloon (French), and he loved best to express himself in it, and in it in the evening of his life he wrote his memoirs. He was always more friendly and generous to the Netherlanders than to any of his other subjects. With the Germans he had least affinity; he did not thoroughly understand their language, and remained as long as he lived a stranger to the German character.

There had been a general hope that the new emperor, irritated at the hostility that Leo X. had shown toward his election, would side with the reform party in the religious movement of the time. Luther himself had written him a letter in which he commended himself and his doctrines to the favor of the young prince. Charles, however, saw very clearly that his permanent interest, if once he attained his end, really lay on the side of the pope. He needed the good-will of the universal church to realize his plans for the restoration of a universal empire. One church and one supreme secular power—so did he, in true mediaeval fashion conceive of the future of Christendom. And surely he would not risk it for the sake of a few scattered German heretics.

His deepest personal convictions agreed perfectly with these political considerations. A pupil of Adrian Floriszoon, he was ardently attached to the Catholic faith. He had as early as 1519, in a letter to his aunt Margaret, declared it to be his principal aim to elevate and extend it. To a reform within the church he was favorably inclined, provided the reform were made by the proper ecclesiastical and secular



Legend: FUNDATORI QVIVETIS. M.D.XXX. Then the symbols of the emperor, the two crowned pillars of Hercules, with a ribbon inscribed with Charles's motto PLVS VLTRA. The head of the Moor, wearing a crown, stamped on the blades, is the swordsmith's emblem.

On the reverse side of the blade is the portrait of the emperor (bust), and in depressed letters the legend, IM. CAES. CAROLVS. V. SEMP. F. AVGVS. T. AN. AET. XXX.

FIG. 12. —Sword of Charles V.
(Vienna.)

authorities ; but all revolutionary movements were abhorrent to a man brought up, as he had been, at the conservative and aristocratic Burgundian court. It therefore appeared to him the height of presumption that an insignificant monk should dare to disturb the order of a church ten centuries old, and that peasants, burghers, and a few knights and princes should undertake to support this foolhardy and arrogant fanatic against all spiritual and temporal authority. The fact that a national popular movement was connected with this religious one made the latter still more objectionable to the emperor. Influenced therefore by these feelings, he determined at the time of his election to make an alliance with the pope against the reformers ; and it is characteristic of him and his whole later policy toward the church of combining ecclesiastical and political absolutist ends that Charles made it a condition of this alliance with the pope that the latter should revoke the apostolic briefs by which the Inquisition had been established in Aragon. At the same time, however, he was quite willing to make use of the Lutheran heresy to drive the pope to submission ; then, when this end had been accomplished, heresy was to be rooted out.

In May, 1520, Charles set sail from Castile for the Netherlands on his way to Germany. In October at Aix-la-Chapelle he was crowned king of the Romans, and, like his predecessor, assumed the title of Roman emperor-elect without waiting for the papal coronation. In January, 1521, he opened his first diet at Worms, surrounded by a full representation of princes and states. He promised to restore the Holy Roman Empire to its ancient glory. By sternness to his enemies, as well as by graciousness to his friends, Charles succeeded in weakening and breaking down the opposition to the house of Hapsburg, which had been so strong under Maximilian.

To strengthen still further the power of the Hapsburgs by dividing numerous burdensome duties, the emperor at this diet handed over to his younger brother, Ferdinand, the Austrian possessions in Germany proper. The German line of Hapsburgs was thus founded anew, as it were—a line which for three hundred years longer wore the imperial crown and governed the empire.

In regard to the imperial council of the empire (*Reichsregiment*) Charles succeeded in having his wishes wholly carried out. This body was to act only during his absence from the empire, and then to conclude important affairs only after obtaining his assent ; Charles was also to have the free choice of several members of the council. The imperial chamber (*Reichskammergericht*) was also reorganized to the emperor's advantage. The number of men to be furnished by the different

states for the defence of the empire was fixed at 9953, and assigned according to a definite standard or "norm" which remained in force till the end of the empire, though on special occasions it was common for the "triplum" or "quadruplum" or some other multiple of the norm to be furnished. The division of the empire into ten "circles," or administrative districts, was now for the first time completely carried out. Such were the great constitutional changes in the empire in 1521; they contained the sum of nearly all the previous efforts at reform, but they came twenty years too late. The interest of the people in 1521 was centred far less on such constitutional reforms than on social and religious questions.

In regard to the Lutheran trouble, which was one of the prominent



FIG. 13.- Medal of 1521, with Luther's portrait. (Berlin.)

matters to be decided at this diet, Charles took a Catholic stand, and would have condemned Luther at once, as Alexander urgently pressed him to do; but to the emperor's surprise the members of the diet desired that Luther should first be heard. Accordingly, Luther was promised a safe conduct, and summoned to appear at Worms to defend himself, to retract, or to hear his condemnation.

Luther at once made up his mind to obey the summons, and sacrifice his life for his convictions, as he boldly announced to his friends. Yet submission was made so easy for him! for the diet stood with him in all that he had written against the pope and the hierarchy, and for this they would not press him; he had to retract only his doctrinal errors. The emperor's confessor, Glapion, an acknowledged partisan of moderate



FIG. 11. Martin Luther Miniature by Lucas Cranach. (Berlin.)

reform, would have been satisfied with Luther's retraction of the book on the Babylonish captivity of the church. But Luther was too upright

a character to accept the means of escape offered him by denying even the least part of his convictions. His journey to Worms resembled a triumphal procession; at Erfurt the whole university went out to meet him, and hear him preach; his friends flocked around him, urging to be steadfast. Spalatin's cautioning words he answered with the well-known declaration, "Were there as many devils in Worms as tiles on the roofs, still I would go there." In Worms itself, crowds ran together to welcome him. Even in the diet, many members wished not to be hard upon him, but to use him for hierarchial, though not dogmatic, opposition to Rome.

On the day following his arrival, April 17, 1521 (Figs. 13, 14), Luther was brought before the diet. The brilliant and imposing assemblage at first awed him; after acknowledging the books placed before him as his, he asked, in a low, timid voice, to be allowed until next day to consider what he should do. This short respite sufficed to restore all his wonted fearlessness. He defended his writings. The official who conducted the hearing, answered him that he was not expected to retract everything, but only what was opposed to the doctrine of the Council of Constance; he must simply acknowledge a human authority in ecclesiastical affairs.

This was mild enough, and proves how great a use the states expected to make of Luther in their resistance to Rome. He replied that even a council could be in error, and offered to prove it in a disputation. The offer was not accepted. He was required to make an unconditional retraction, if he wished to escape condemnation as a heretic. Luther refused to retract anything unless he could be convinced of error by the words of the Scriptures, for he relied on councils as little as on popes. "Therefore," he concluded, "I neither can, nor will, retract anything, for it is hard, unsafe, and dangerous to act contrary to one's conscience. God help me. Amen."

After Luther's persistent denial of the infallible authority, the emperor would hear no more, and dismissed the assembly. "He shall make no heretic of me," said Charles, and on the following day announced to the diet in sharp words that he was determined to put down Luther and his "pernicious" doctrines. The diet extracted from the emperor, in spite of all Alexander's objections, the permission to reopen the discussion with the theologian of Wittenberg, and represented to Luther that he should not depend so exclusively on his own judgment, but rather submit to the opinion of the diet. "Yes," answered Luther, "on condition that this opinion is in accordance with Holy Scripture, for otherwise, cursed be the man who depends upon men." The negotiations

failed, as they must, between persons holding two such irreconcilable opinions. Luther left Worms. The majority of the diet, cowed by the emperor's threats, or won over by the adroit Aleander, dared no longer resist; and thus, with numerous disregards for form, the act of condemnation was obtained from the diet. This so-called Edict of Worms (May 26, 1521) condemned Luther and his adherents, ordered his writings to be burned, and established a strict ecclesiastical censorship over books. Aleander had at length secured his object.

Thus the empire and the reformation spirit parted company. For Austria, itself, this parting was final. It was not a gain to either. The empire lost the vivifying impulse of the reform movement, and this, on the other hand, soon had to resort to revolutionary attempts against the imperial system to protect itself.

The issue of the diet of Worms proved how immature the German nation was in politics, and how essentially inefficient were the knights as a party of opposition, in spite of their boastful talk of freedom and reform. In Worms they had proclaimed that they were coming with 8000 men to the aid of Luther; nobody came. The common people were with Luther, but they lacked initiative and vigor of action. Sickingen and his friends, with primarily mercenary motives, placed too much hope upon the booty they would make in the approaching conflict with France to feel disposed to undertake anything against Charles. To the noble Hutten this was a bitter lesson: he saw his inability to fulfil his promise to lead an army into the field in Luther's behalf. His plans were shattered, and he became henceforth an aimless and restless adventurer, hastening rapidly to unavoidable ruin.

The diet of Worms was, then, an extremely important crisis in the history of Germany and of the Reformation; glorious for Luther, but with disastrous effects.

Meanwhile, Luther recognized the necessity of withdrawing from public view until circumstances should cause his condemnation to be forgotten or should render it ineffectual. On May 4, 1521, Luther was seized whilst crossing a forest near Möhra and then secretly carried to the Wartburg castle (Fig. 15) by the order of his protector and friend, Frederick of Saxony. The secret was well kept. Most people thought him dead. The emperor could look upon the whole transaction as happily settled and be glad at the result.

Since his defeat in his candidacy for the imperial crown Francis had been filled with intense hate for his prospective son-in-law, Charles V., and launched against him the coarsest invectives, which the latter wisely refrained from answering. With such a disposition, piqued as he was

at the success of the unknown young man, the French king soon found pretexts to assume active hostilities against the emperor. The unjust seizure by the Spaniards of Navarre, a land that belonged to a French ruling family, and the theoretical suzerainty of France over the lowland counties of Flanders and Artois could furnish Francis a ground for attack, whilst Charles complained that Francis had not applied to him for the investiture of Milan. In short, Spanish and imperial interests everywhere ran counter to those of the French. Francis thought the present opportunity to begin the struggle specially favorable, since a dangerous

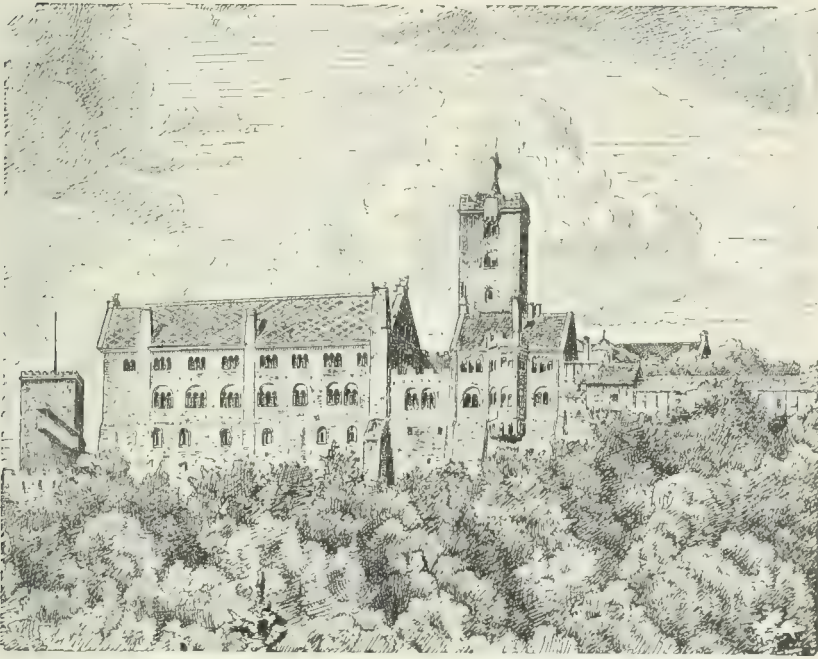


FIG. 15.—The Wartburg castle.

rising had just occurred in Spain. The Castilians, who looked upon Charles as a foreigner, had been growing more and more dissatisfied with his administration, and their displeasure was intensified by his suit for the German crown, which threatened to alienate his interest from Spain. He paid no regard to their expressions of discontent, but convoked the Cortes in the remote provinces of Galicia, that he might the more easily persuade them to vote abundant grants of money for his German expedition.

But no sooner had he gotten his needed subsidies by trickery and specious promises than he set sail for the Netherlands without paying any attention to the abuses which he had promised to remedy. His old Flemish tutor, Adrian Floriszoon, whom he left behind, was unendurable to the Spanish national pride. The larger cities of Castile and Galicia, with Toledo, the ancient capital of the realm, at their head, rose in rebellion to recover their former liberties (May, 1520). At the siege of Segovia the soldiers of the governor-general were repeatedly defeated by the burghers under the leadership of the young Don Juan de Padilla, and at length Adrian in terror disbanded his forces and left the whole of Spain to the rebels. These possessed themselves of the person of the weak-minded Joanna, and in her name the committee of the revolutionists carried on the government. If the nobility of Castile had made common cause with the communes, Spain would have secured her permanent freedom. But Charles easily won the nobility to his side by the appointment of two regents out of their own ranks in the place of Adrian. The nobles formed the main strength of the new army that took the field against the rebels. Padilla was finally beaten in a decisive battle at Villalar (April 23, 1521), taken prisoner, and, after a few days, executed. These disasters disheartened the Castilian communes, and they soon submitted to the king.

By the battle of Villalar the power of the Cortes, as indeed all opposition to the royal authority in Spain, was destroyed. The nobility received but ill reward for their services against the communes, for, eighteen years later, Charles excluded them, as well as the clergy, from the Cortes. To the representatives of the eighteen franchised towns he left only the right of petition and of consent to new taxes, and with respect to these the government understood how to make them pliable. Thus was consummated in Castile, once so proud of its liberties, the establishment of that unlimited royal authority for which Ferdinand and Isabella had paved the way.

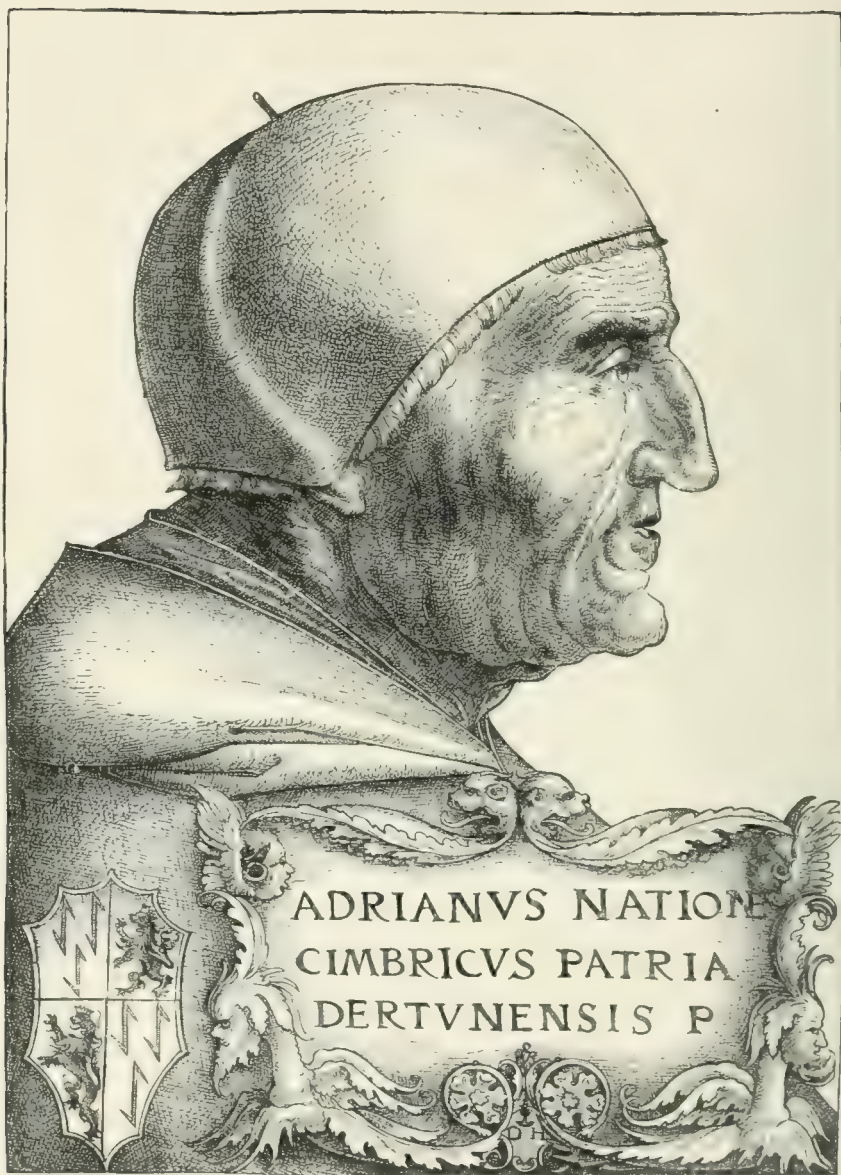
Everything, then, had been settled in Spain even before France had completed its preparations. Francis experienced one diplomatic defeat after another at the hands of his rival. He had felt that he could surely count on Henry VIII. of England; but Charles succeeded by a personal visit to England in winning over the king himself and his all-powerful favorite, Cardinal Wolsey, by money, honors, and the promise of the papal throne after Leo's death; so that it was of no real benefit to Francis that in June, 1520, he had at Tournai with Henry VIII. a meeting celebrated with lavish pomp, and hence called the *champ du drap d'or* (Field of the Cloth of Gold). The English monarch was

pledged to Charles V., with whose help he hoped to renew the claims of his ancestors to France.

Francis, by supporting the d'Albret family in an attempt upon Navarre, and by favoring in the Netherlands Robert de la Mark, a rebellious vassal of the emperor's, produced a very unfavorable impression throughout Europe. Henry VIII. saw in these acts an excuse to break with Francis and to pass over to the emperor. Leo X. formed with the latter a league to drive the French out of Italy. In return for this co-operation, the pope secured, as we know, the condemnation of Luther; moreover, in this compact the emperor and the pope openly expressed their intention to restore by all means in their power the legitimate subordination of all princes to the pope and the emperor. In this lies the true key to the policy of Charles V.

Thus began (May, 1521) under circumstances favorable to Charles a struggle that was to last more than two hundred years between France and the Hapsburgs, and was to exercise a controlling influence on modern history until the Seven Years' War. In the Netherlands the war was carried on without decisive results; in Spain the French were defeated in their attempt upon Navarre, suffering an overthrow at Ezquiros. The chief interest was turned to the Italian campaigns, in which, according to traditional policy, the Venetians and the Duke of Ferrara assisted the French against the emperor and the pope. The Queen-mother Louise had secured the appointment of one of her favorites as commander-in-chief of the French forces, Lautrec, a man of very inferior ability. An even worse thing for French success was the wasteful prodigality at the court of Fontainebleau, which devoured the revenues of the state. Lautrec, the incapable French commander, saw himself reduced, from lack of money, to dismiss his Swiss and withdraw on Milan. He was closely pursued by the superior forces of the emperor and pope under the able leadership of the Roman, Prosper Colonna. The Milanese, whom Lautrec's extortions and harsh treatment of the anti-French families in the city had greatly embittered, now felt encouraged to rebel, and forced the French to abandon first the city itself, and soon afterward the whole duchy, except a few strongholds, and fall back upon the Venetian territory (November, 1521). Francesco Sforza, the younger son of Lodovico Moro, was chosen to the ducal throne. In the midst of these triumphs Pope Leo died in the forty-sixth year of his age (December 1, 1521).

His death was a hard blow to the emperor, as the Swiss, being paid wholly with papal gold, now had to be dismissed. They immediately went over to the French king, who took 16,000 of them into his pay.



E. HOPFER.

FIG. 16. —Pope Adrian VI. Etching by Daniel Hopfer. (First third of the sixteenth century.)

Everywhere in Italy enemies rose up against the empire. It is true that the new choice by the conclave was to the emperor's liking; with the aid of the Cardinal Medici, Leo's nephew, this choice fell upon

Charles's tutor, that same Adrian Floriszoon of Utrecht, who had been so unfortunate in his administration of Spain. But this new pontiff, Adrian VI. (Fig. 17), was out of place. Sincerely pious, but averse to humanism, he was, in pagan-like Rome, the object of general ridicule. By freely acknowledging the abuses of the last centuries, and by attempting a thorough reform, he excited a general storm among the prelates who were profiting by these abuses. Undecided, indolent, he saw his best plans miscarry. Dissatisfied with himself, hated and despised by the Romans as a narrow-minded barbarian, Adrian VI. died in September, 1523.

Meanwhile, Charles, although left in the lurch by the pope, had opposed to the Swiss of Francis an army of German landsknechts under valiant George Frundsberg (Fig. 18). Joyfully did these go into the struggle, for there had long existed a bitter hate between the soldiers of the two nations; and when the Swiss of Lautrec stormed the strongly-fortified position of the imperialists at Bicocca (April, 1522), they were driven back by Frundsberg's troops. The Swiss and Venetians, not having received their pay, went home, and Lautrec's small army was forced to withdraw into France. Finally, the Venetians concluded a defensive alliance with the emperor (July, 1523), and the whole of Italy submitted to him. Since the days of Frederick Barbarossa, the like had not been seen.

France was now assailed in her own boundaries. An English fleet plundered her western coast, and an English force invaded her northern

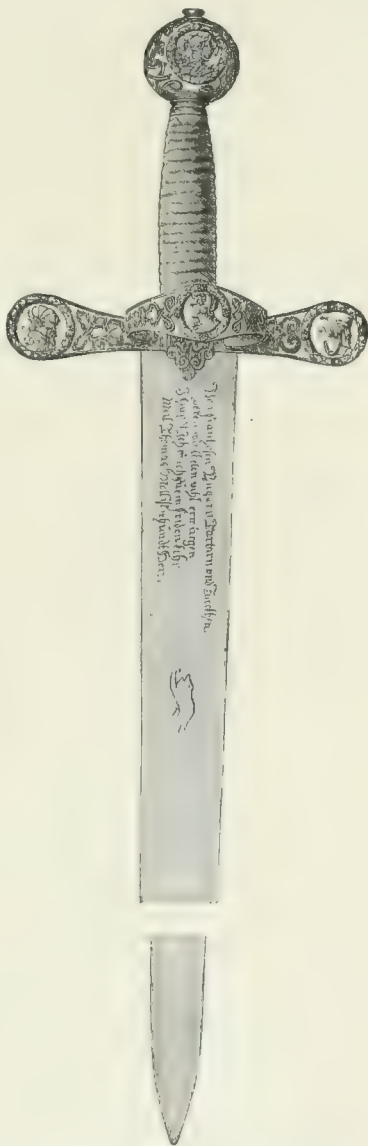


FIG. 17.—Sword of George von Frundsberg. (Vienna.)

provinces from the Netherlands. Within, the consequences of the misrule and corruption of Francis and his mother were equally bad. The unpaid soldiery turned into bands of robbers; riots occurred even in Paris. Just at the critical period, Charles of Bourbon, constable of France, and almost independent lord of Burgundy, had been deeply offended by a lawsuit brought against him by the crown, to recover certain estates held by him. Ambition and restlessness thereupon led him into a secret agreement with the emperor and Henry VIII., wherein he pledged himself to aid them with his vassals and friends; as a return, he was to be made king of a restored, independent kingdom of Burgundy. Fortunately, Francis discovered in time the treason of the constable. Bourbon had to flee across the frontier with a handful of friends. Not one arm was raised in his defence. Feudalism was completely dead on French soil. On the contrary, the nation rose up for the rescue of the fatherland. Three hostile armies that had pressed into it were driven back, and in the autumn of 1523, a French army of 34,000 men crossed the Alps and descended into Italy.

It was just at this juncture that Adrian died. Cardinal Wolsey had strong hope that the emperor, according to his pledges, would raise him to the papal chair. But Charles thought him too obstinate and proud, and exerted his influence on behalf of Cardinal Medici, who was elected pope under the name of Clement VII. (Fig. 18). He was a cultured and enlightened man, but of weak character and small talent. At first, he sided with his protector, the emperor. The latter appointed the vindictive Bourbon his generalissimo in Italy, against the French army, then under the command of one of Francis's favorites, Admiral Bonnivet. Strengthened by the Venetians, Bourbon, by constant skirmishes, very costly to the French, drove his opponents back over the Alps (spring, 1524). In one of those skirmishes Bayard, the "knight without fear or reproach," met his death.

Bourbon had pursued the French into Provence and laid siege to Marseilles, but in September, 1524, was defeated by Francis in person. Francis now led his third offensive movement against Upper Italy, meeting at first with brilliant success. The imperial army, greatly weakened, abandoned the city and the duchy of Milan, with the exception of a few castles, and a most important point of communication with Middle Italy, Pavia. Here were encamped 5000 Germans under Antonio de Leyva, a heroic Spaniard, who had fought in thirty-two battles and forty skirmishes. For four months this brave little army withstood all the attacks of the French, and thereby gave the emperor time to reorganize his forces in the now friendly Venetian territory. The lieutenants and

generals of Charles sacrificed their personal property to procure soldiers, German landsknechts, and Spanish arquebusiers. Yet these would have availed nothing, but for the incredible carelessness and negligence of the French king, who was going a round of festivities and amorous adventures, and of his generals, who filled their own pockets with the money destined for the payment of the army. Bourbon and Colonna suddenly



FIG. 18.—Pope Clement VII. Engraving by Daniel Hopper.

attacked the French army in the park near Pavia; the French ironclad chivalry fell before the Spanish infantry, and, for the second time, the Swiss yielded before the spears and lances of the landsknechts, who celebrated their triumph over the hated "cow milkers" in jubilant songs. From this day the boasted military superiority of the Swiss was lost, and German troops were deemed fully their equal (Figs. 19–38¹). The

¹ In Figs. 19–38 are represented various scenes from German army life in the sixteenth century. They are facsimiles of the woodcuts by Jost Amman in Leonard Frundsberger's Warbook (Kriegsbuch): Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1566.

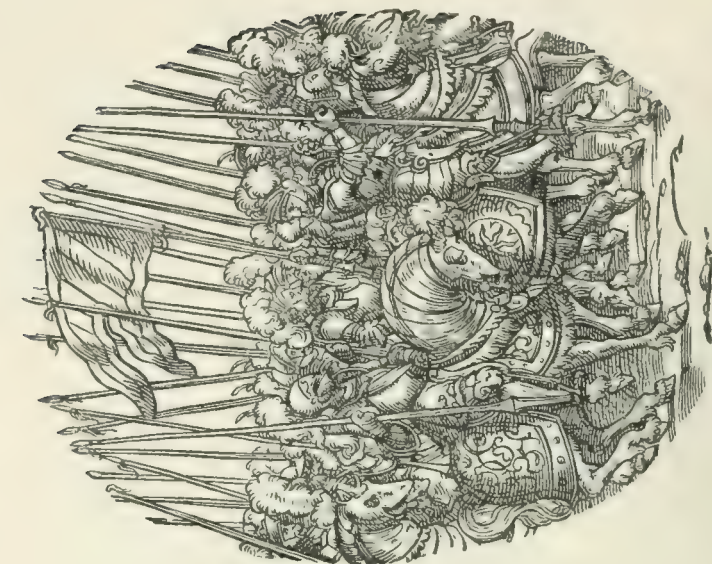


FIG. 20. German cavalry

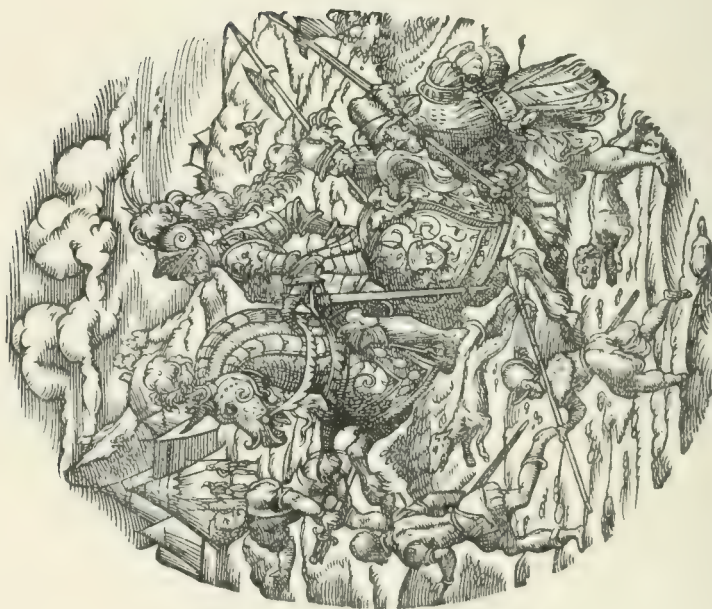


FIG. 19. An oberst, or commanding officer.

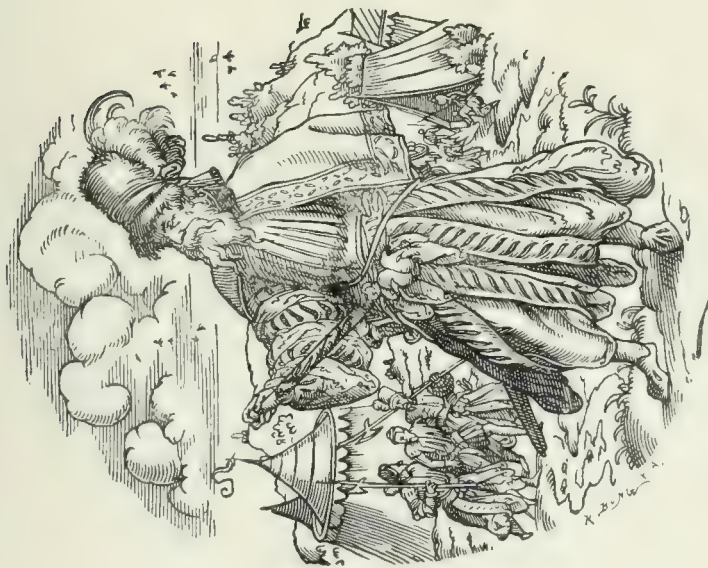


FIG. 21.—The oberst's feldprofoosz, or orderly.

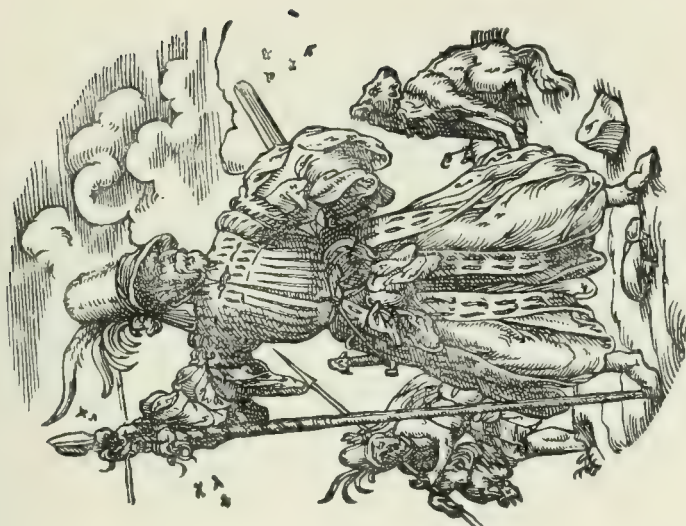


FIG. 22.—Military police.



FIG. 24. Fifer and drummer.

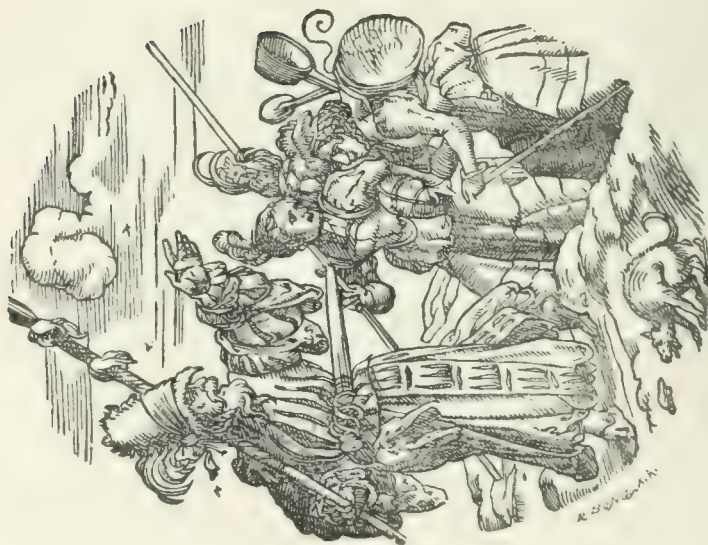


FIG. 25. Military police.

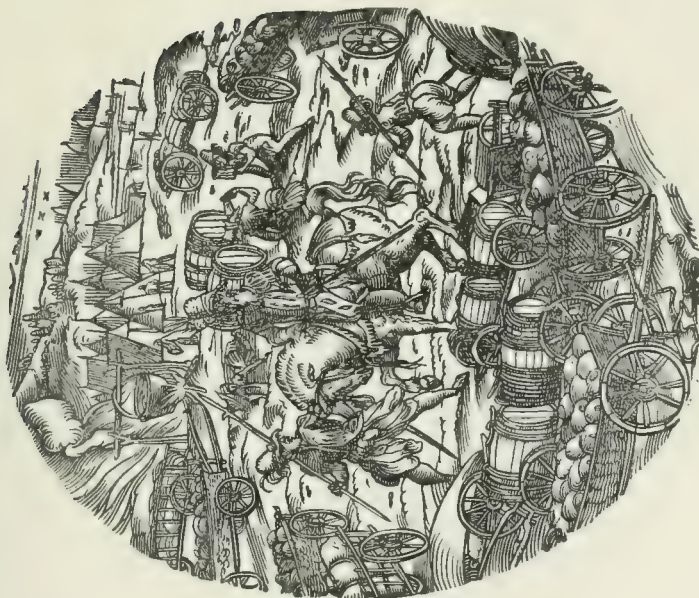


FIG. 26. — Quartermaster.

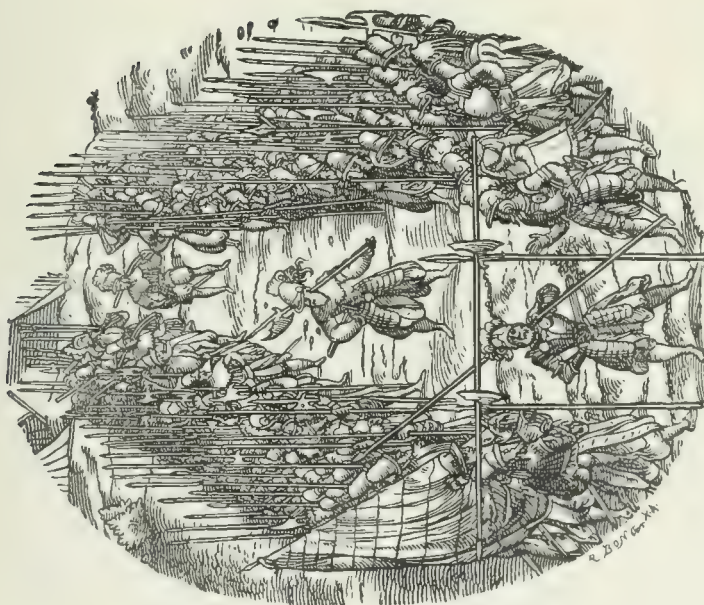


FIG. 25. — Infantry muster.

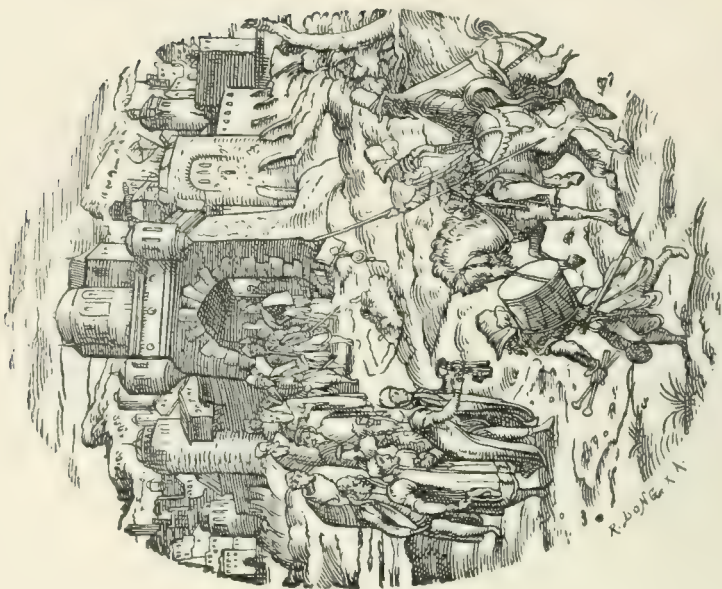


FIG. 25. — Surrender of a city.

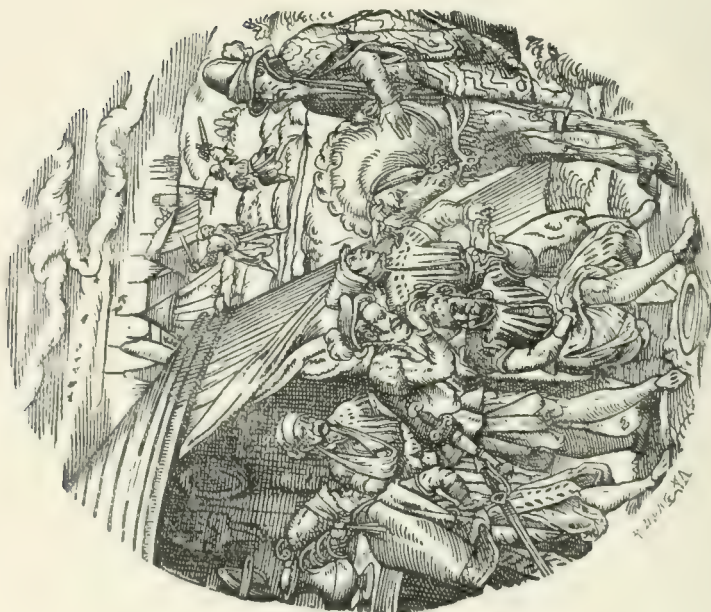


FIG. 27. Head surgeon.

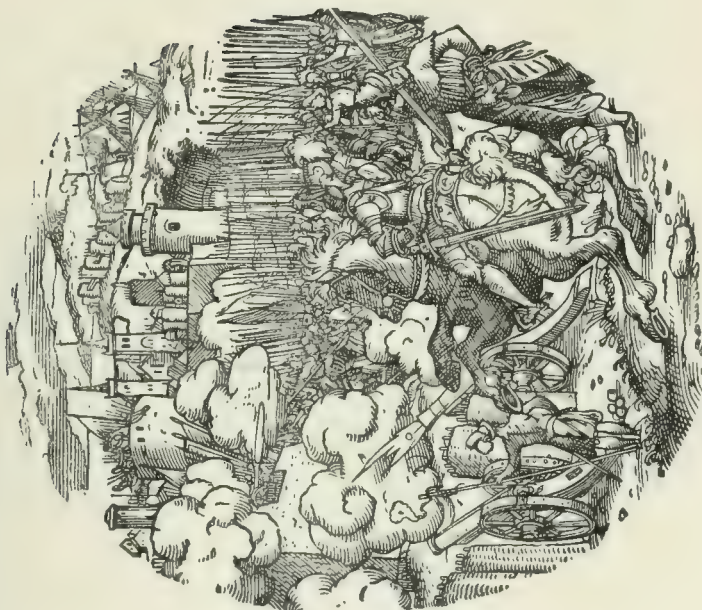


FIG. 30.—Chief-master of ordnance.

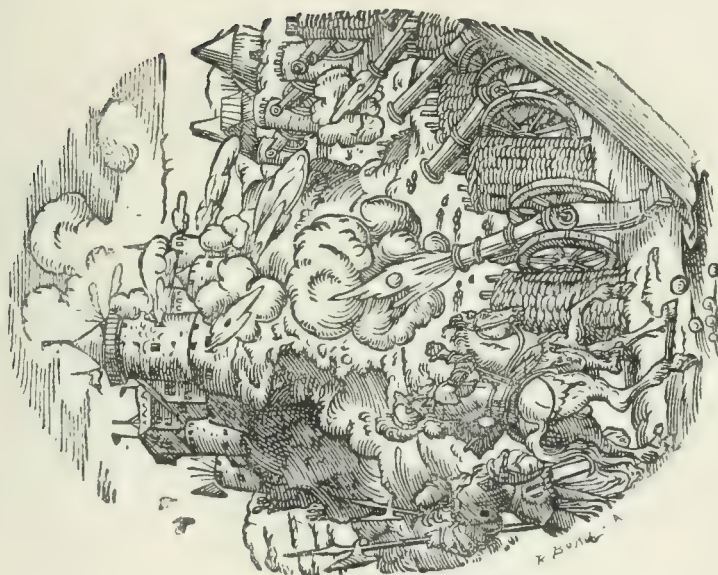


FIG. 29.—Bombardment of a castle.

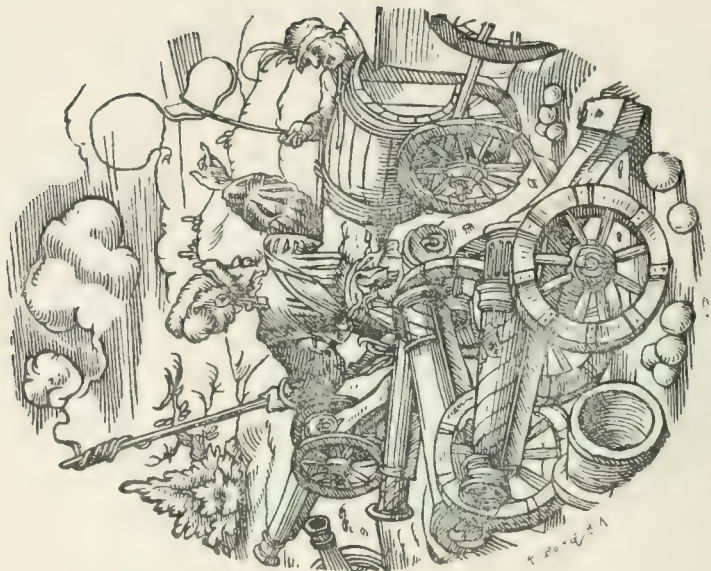


FIG. 32.—Cannon builder.

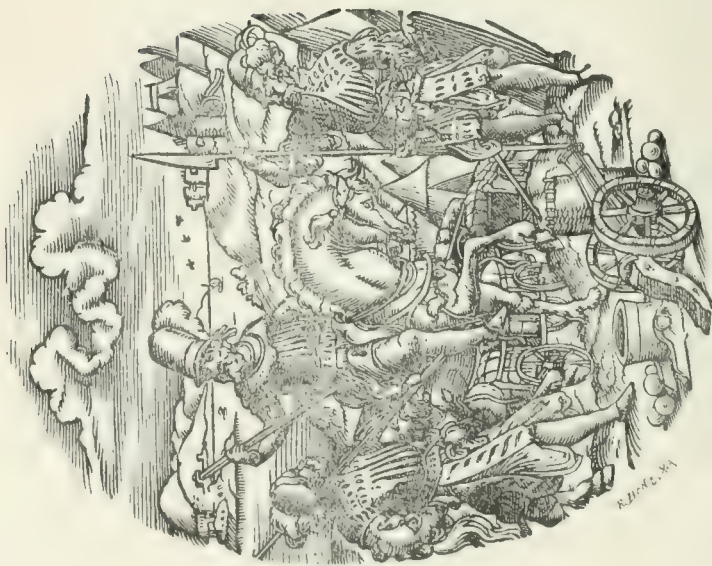


FIG. 31.—Master of ordnance.

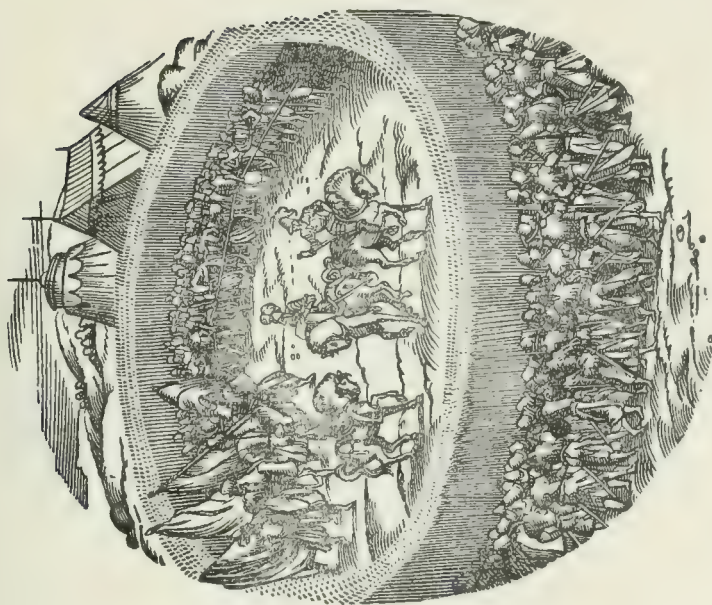


FIG. 34.—Examination of witnesses.

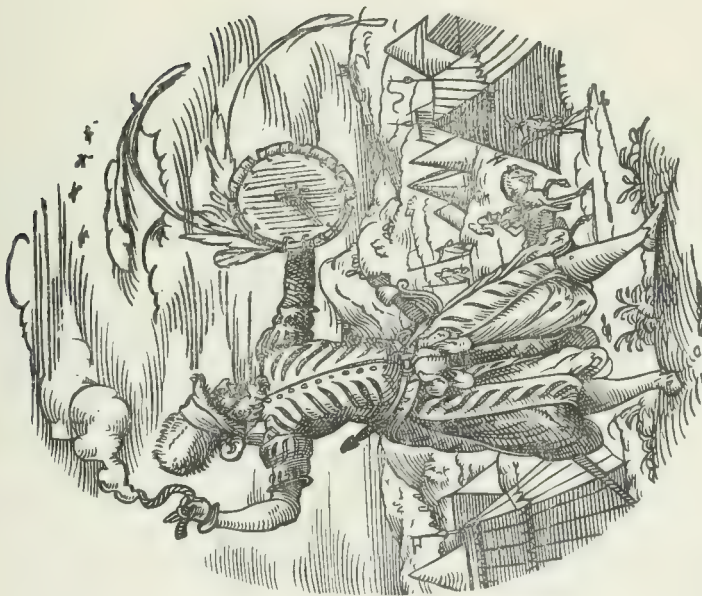


FIG. 33.—Testing rockets.

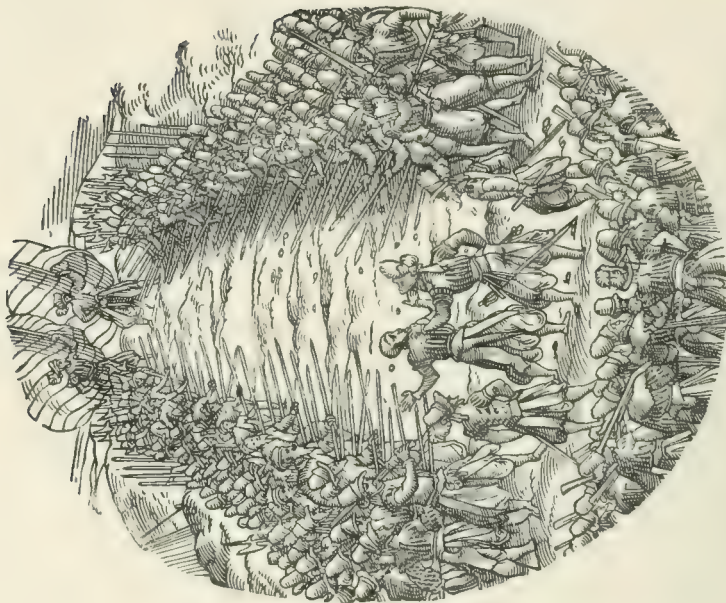


FIG. 36. Running the gauntlet (of the long spears).

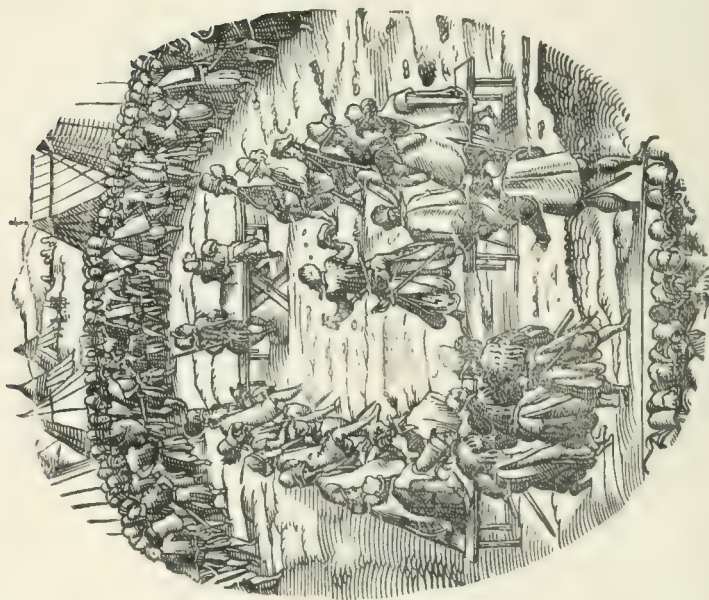


FIG. 35. Court-martial.

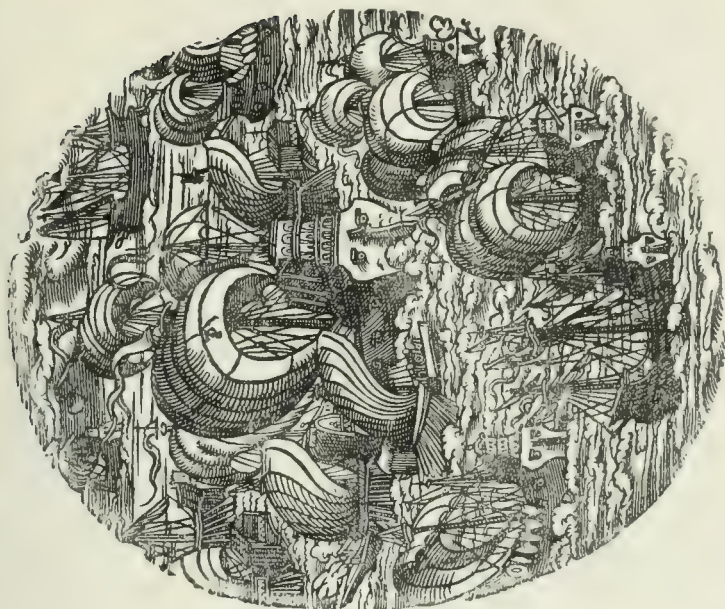


FIG. 36. Marine.

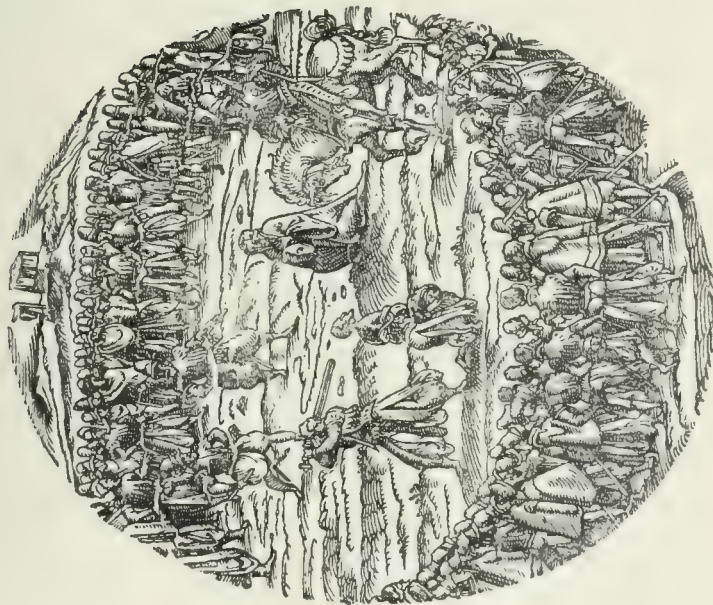


FIG. 37.— Military execution.

whole French army was destroyed, Francis himself, who had fought with heroic courage, wounded and taken prisoner. The battle of Pavia (February 24, 1525), settled the fate of Italy: for more than three hundred years it remained under the influence of the house of Austria.

Since the English wars France had not suffered such a disaster. She expected at every moment to see her enemies overrun her frontiers. But here again it was seen on what weak foundations rested the power of Charles V.; the Netherlands, the main source of his money supply,



FIG. 39. Charles V.'s helmet. German work of the best period of the Renaissance (Vienna). Composed of a single piece, with affixed cheek-plates, adorned with scenes from the Aeneid in repoussé.

would no longer consent to be taxed for these wars; Germany offered a market in which to hire mercenaries, but granted no direct subsidy. Henry VIII., convinced at last that Charles was using him as a tool, without meaning to make the slightest return, concluded with France (August, 1525), a peace which brought him the considerable sum of 2,000,000 gold crowns in cash and a yearly pension of 10,000 more.

Charles (Fig. 39) now intended to extort from his royal prisoner the most favorable terms of peace, but in this he made a grievous mistake. The wisest thing would have been to let the captive king go free, with no other condition than a treaty of peace, or, perhaps, an alliance. He would thus have secured for a long term the undisturbed possession of the cause of their strife, that part of Italy which he already had in his power. But conformably to his mediaeval notions he thought that in holding her king he held all France prisoner. He would release him only on condition of the surrender of large parts of French territory. But France already possessed so much national and political independence as to render the person of her ruler a secondary condition. The wisest advisers of Charles saw this, but he could not be swerved from his purpose. Francis withstood a long time the demands of his captor; at length, however, no longer able to endure his imprisonment he signed the Treaty of Madrid (January 14, 1526). But he had previously secretly protested against this treaty in presence of witnesses. By this Treaty of Madrid he renounced all his claims on Italy, on the Southwestern Netherlands, and his alliances in Germany; and he promised to marry the emperor's widowed sister, Eleonore; finally, he surrendered the duchy of Burgundy; Bourbon and his adherents were to recover their possessions. Till the fulfilment of all these conditions, the two sons of the king were to remain with the emperor as hostages. It was by these humiliating concessions that Francis obtained his liberation.

CHAPTER III.

THE REFORMATION AS A SECULAR FORCE.

WHILE Luther, in the disguise of a knight, as "Squire George," lived quietly in the Wartburg, his doctrines, in spite of the Edict of Worms, were fast securing general attention and acceptance throughout Germany. The University of Erfurt became at once the zealous defender and champion of the Reformation, especially in the person of Melancthon, who was transferring his interest more and more from secular to religious studies. From 1500 to 2000 students gathered around the chair of Luther's young friend, who proved himself fully worthy of representing the great reformer during his temporary disappearance.

Meanwhile, Luther's long absence had some serious consequences. His overwhelming authority no longer held spirits in check, and an extreme party arose among the leaders of the reform. Melancthon had declared that not only was the celibacy of the clergy wrong, but also that the vow of chastity was not binding; as a natural consequence many unworthy priests and licentious monks joined the Lutheran clergy. Elector Frederick, in his uncertain, phlegmatic way, let things drift as they would, and did nothing to direct the reform into practical ways. So extremists had free play; in Erfurt the students and the populace fell upon the rich canons and plundered them, then expelled all clergy not favorable to Luther from the town—thus depriving the university of its best teachers, and striking a fatal blow at its success. In Zwickau, the industrial centre of the Erzgebirge, Hussite doctrines had ever been maintained and these were more boldly professed under the influence of the Lutheran movement. Not the Bible but "the spirit," or direct divine inspiration, was for these Hussites the source of knowledge. Pre-eminent among the "prophets" claiming to be receivers of the divine spirit was Klaus Storch. In Wittenberg, Professor Andreas Karlstadt was at the head of the zealots and preached against the worship of images and monasticism. The Augustinian monks forsook their cloister, thus setting an example, followed quickly by nearly all the secular clergy in electoral Saxony. These monks seemed to find a compensation for their long-endured repression, in the most violent tirades against all existing church ordinances. Karlstadt, yielding more and more to the dictates of

passion and fanaticism, wished to do away with schools of all sorts, and urged the multitude to storm the churches and to destroy the images. The wildest disorder began to prevail. The whole future of the Refor-

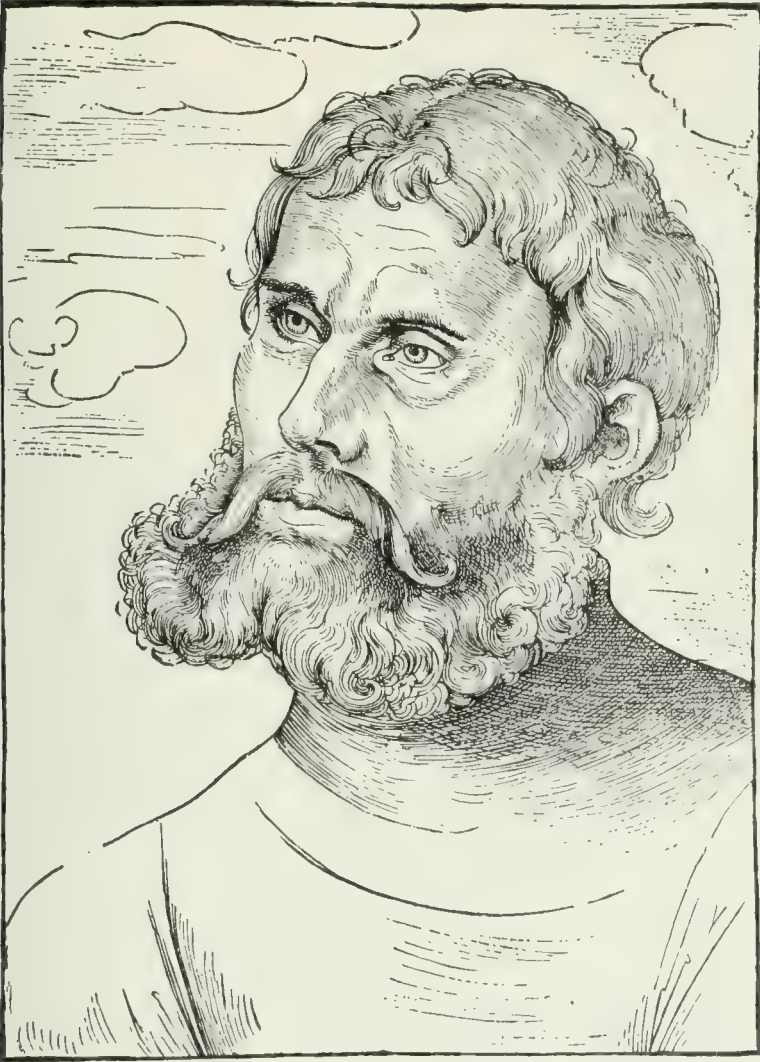


FIG. 10. Luther as Squire George. Facsimile of Lucas Cranach's woodcut.

mation was at stake. Melancthon had neither strength nor authority sufficient to master this uproar, and earnestly pressed his master to return.

Luther had before this by numerous polemical writings convinced

friend and foe that he was still alive. When Albert of Mayence had the audacity to reopen the sale of indulgences in Halle, Luther issued against him the scathing pamphlet, "Against the New Idol in Halle." The anxious warnings of his protector, Frederick, and of his friend, Spalatin, to be calm or moderate only excited his scorn. Though depending wholly on the protection of Frederick, he did not hesitate to write to Spalatin, "It makes me impatient to have you say that the prince will not allow the publication of the pamphlet against the Bishop of Mayence, and will not disturb the public peace; I would sooner destroy you and the prince and every creature of the pope's. What! I have withstood the pope—and should I yield to one of his underlings?" When he heard of the revolutionary agitation in Saxony, of the rising mystic Anabaptist sect; when he saw his whole work in peril, nothing—not even the displeasure of the elector—could retain him in the Wartburg (Fig. 40). Leaving it in March, 1522, he suddenly appeared in Wittenberg (Fig. 41), where for eight successive days he

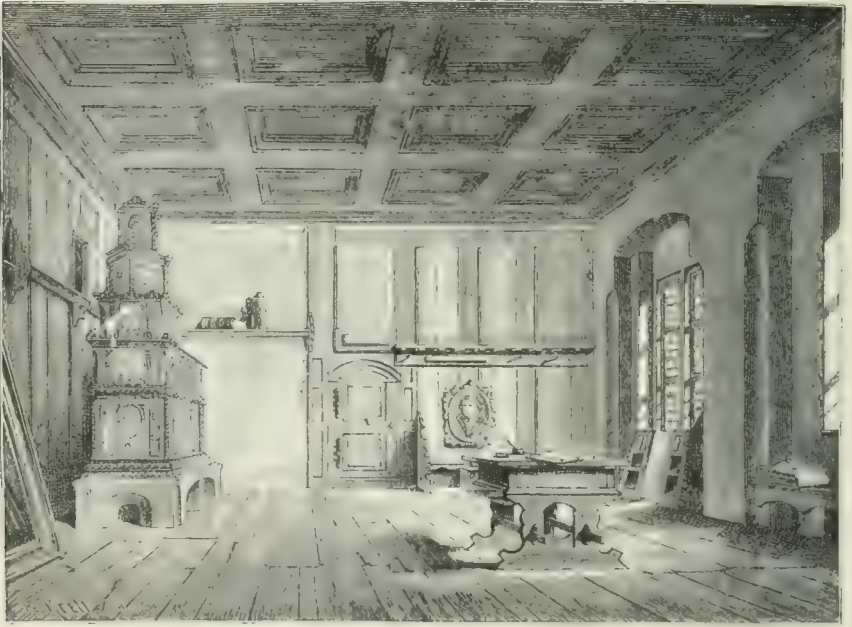


FIG. 41. Luther's chamber in Wittenberg.

preached on the questions that were agitating the world. This was, indeed, a bold enterprise; he was defying the ban of the empire, the wrath of his protector, and the fanatical mob. This last he succeeded in

entirely gaining over by the influence of his personality and the power of his eloquence. He pointed out that abuses must be removed, not by wild excesses, but patiently and by the proper authorities; that even the best cause needs to be guarded against scandal. These wise utterances had the desired effect in quieting the people, and leading them to withdraw from Karlstadt. The latter's writings were thus discredited. Then followed a period of quiet spreading of the doctrine thus purified and strengthened (Fig. 42). It was fortunate for the Reformation that the



Wittenberg.

FIG. 42. Facsimile of the title-page of the first edition of Luther's translation of the New Testament, 1522: the "September Bible."

pope was too busy with politics, and the emperor with his wars against France to attempt to enforce the Edict of Worms. The anti-papal tendency, which for a hundred and fifty years had been strong in the German princes, became more decided and positive the longer the emperor remained absent. Besides, Luther's bold and successful steps against extremists and fanatics had won him many sympathizers among the

princes. When Adrian VI. himself uttered bitter complaints on the abuses that had crept into the church, the imperial council pretended they could not consistently carry out either Leo's bull or the Edict of Worms against the man who had first called attention to those abuses. Only a general church council, with the assistance of temporal princes, could determine what it was right to believe. The diet of Nuremberg (1523) virtually decreed the suspension of the Edict of Worms, and thus gave free course to Lutheranism. To one reading the words of the diet, "Nothing shall be taught but the pure, sincere and Holy Gospel and the accepted Scriptures, piously, meekly, and Christianly," they seem to express Luther's mind much more than that of his opponents.

Under the protection of the imperial council Luther went on to organize the worship and constitution of his religious following. An extremely pregnant thought of his was to base the Reformation on popular education; he gave expression to it in his "Call to the councillors of all cities of Germany to found and maintain Christian schools." Under these fresh impulses Lutheranism spread rapidly through most German lands. The example of Nuremberg, which promptly went over to the Reformation, drew most of the other imperial cities after it. In Silesia a great following was secured at once. The distant city of Riga accepted the reform, whilst at the opposite extremity of Lower Germany, in Antwerp, the first Lutheran heretics were burned at the stake (1523), for here the emperor's rule was absolute. The work did not go on, it is true, without violence and even bloodshed. The excitement was too intense not to have everywhere kindled strong passions. Such a movement, at once literary and popular, had never before swept over Germany. Pamphlets by Luther, his friends, and his adversaries, succeeded each other, printed by the thousand, and read with eagerness by multitudes. No one spoke any more of the old dependence upon Latin, French, or Italian models. Luther had powerfully contributed toward the creation of the German language, by his translation of the Bible, which has become a German classic.

The New Testament and Pentateuch, which he translated while at the Wartburg, appeared in 1522; the whole work was not completed till 1534. Luther kept improving it constantly, so that the last edition published by him, that of 1545, is the most perfect. From this time German became more and more used by literary men. The national tendency of the time shows itself in several popular histories that then appeared: Turmayer's "Bavarian Chronicle," in which the German language is handled in excellent style, and is, in the introduction, most zealously extolled; Sebastian Franck's brightly written "Chronicle of

the Turks," "Chronicle of the Whole German Land," and "World Book;" finally Aegidius Tschudi's poetic and lively "Helvetic Chroni-



FIG. 43. -Portrait of Albert Dürer by himself. Original painting in Munich.

cle." Even the hard materials of mathematics and technicalities of art had to bow to this new High German speech, as is proved by the writings

of the great Albert Dürer (Fig. 43). Especially were theological and political polemics, pulpit eloquence, and exposition of Scriptures sedulously cultivated; for interest in these matters threw every other more and more into the shade, and the development of the national mind for centuries received from this a one-sided direction. To this prose literature must be added poetry, mostly dealing with theology and morals, especially noble church hymns, many the productions of Luther himself, in part comforting and edifying, in part regular battle-songs against internal and external foes.

The spirit of Hans Sachs was stirred by the Reformation, and found free expression in his humorous no less than in his serious poems, ever since the publication, in 1522, of his "Wittenberg Nightingale." Claus Manuel of Bern attacked, with caustic wit and sharp tongue, in his carnival plays, the pope, his dignitaries, the clergy and its corruptions. Hans Sachs's dramas are, it is true, of more general and more varied sort, yet they all tend to promote morality and virtue.

Art also was closely connected with the Reformation, and its leading spirits were strongly influenced by it. The greatest master of Germany in the sixteenth century, Albert Dürer, was affected by it in his later years. He is the right interpreter in art of the popular German mind of that important period: powerful, imaginative, and original, but without the sense of order and symmetry. At the same time, he was restless and rapid in his work, and could never attain the perfection of form which Italian artists learned in the cultured humanistic courts of their princes. But this only makes him the more genuine representative of the German folk. Dürer felt a very keen interest in the theological questions brought forward by Luther. Instead of the saints and the mother of God, whom he had before worshipped, he gloried now in the most beautiful and perfect of his works, the Four Church Pillars, the great heroes of the early Christian Church when it stood yet in its complete purity without any human accessories. Still closer to the leader of the Reformation came another master, who in power and depth of expression is not to be compared with Dürer, Lucas Cranach (Fig. 44). He set up his home in Wittenberg itself, and his untiring brush never wearied of representing in characteristic pictures the great men who surrounded him. Many of Luther's works were adorned by his woodcuts. Yet it must be conceded that his talent was turned too exclusively toward the lovable and agreeable to allow his art to express the full significance of the reform movement.

The theological interest was uppermost. The lecture rooms of the jurists and the humanists were becoming deserted, a fact especially grievous to the latter. It is not without regret that we watch witty,

free, confident humanism pass out of German national life. At the same time another brilliant element of this life was disappearing—the free, warlike knights. Luther's friends had once complained that the knights had done so little for the Reformation; now, on the contrary, they rejoiced that the cause of the Reformation was wholly separate from that of knighthood, for the latter was perishing simply on account of its own



FIG. 44. —Lucas Cranach. Portrait by himself in an altar-piece. From the engraving by A. Steinla.

uselessness. The knights had served faithfully neither the emperor nor Luther, for they had thought only of having their own will and getting plunder. In 1522 these robber-knights formed a league for protection against all foreign—i. e., not their own—jurisdiction (Fig. 45). Sickingen loved to clothe his deeds of violence with reform theories, and resolved (1522) to conduct a plundering expedition against an ecclesiastical potentate, the Elector of Treves. Luther and Melancthon positively rejected all alliance with this league. Nevertheless, under the banner of the

Gospel, Sickingen fell upon Treves; but no one was deceived by this, and the Elector Palatine and Philip of Hesse, both of whom favored the Reformation, came to the assistance of Treves, defeated Sickingen's friends, and took his castles. In his last fortress, Landstadt, Sickingen was fatally wounded (May, 1523). The Hessian and Frankish knights had to submit; the victorious princes divided the spoils among themselves.



FIG. 45.—A band of robber-knights plundering a boat. The leaders remain in the forest. A carriage is detained on the left, while in the background two knights are carrying off a prisoner. Woodcut, from the German edition of a book by Francesco Petrarch. (Augsburg, 1532.)

Thus fell the independent German nobility, at which Germany could but rejoice.

However little inclined toward the knights the cities may have been, they disliked still more the growing power of the princes who tried to exclude them from participation in the affairs of the empire, and whose economic interests were directly opposed to those of the burgher class. The attempt of the imperial council to surround Germany with

a single belt of custom offices seemed to the commercial middle class a most threatening step. When the council further induced the diet to decree that all trading companies with a capital of more than 50,000 florins should be dissolved, the large traders saw in it a fatal stroke aimed at them. To oppose this imperial council that was working for the princes, the cities sent an embassy with their grievances to the emperor's court; the Swabian League, always well disposed toward the emperor, followed their example, and the ecclesiastical lords at the same time accused the council of leaning toward Lutheranism. The council succumbed to the opposition, and at the diet of 1524 it was dissolved after Charles had annulled nearly all of its decrees. Thus the attempt



FIG. 46. Leonhard von Eck. Engraving by Bartel Beham.

to bring the empire under the control of the estates was finally defeated by the union of imperial, particularist, and reactionary elements. The attempts at political reform, so zealously made for more than a hundred years by the noblest men of the nation and surrounded by such great hopes, were shipwrecked. Centrifugal forces in Germany were too strong; they had broken up the empire; they might with greater ease yet break up the confederacy of German states.

At the diet of Nuremberg, in 1524, in spite of the abolition of the

imperial council, the majority of the states had shown themselves favorable to the Reformation. The more eagerly, therefore, did the papal legate, Campeggi, skilfully strive to win over the princes separately and personally, and induce them to check the Reformation among the people.

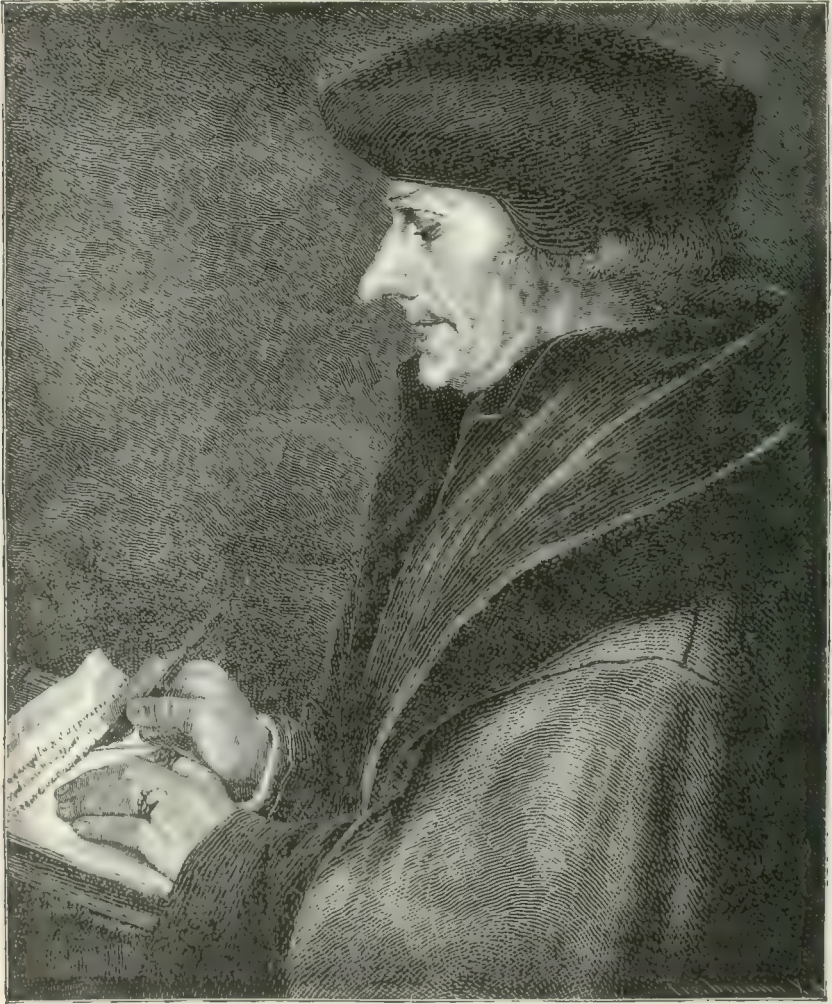


FIG. 17. Erasmus of Rotterdam. Painting by Hans Holbein the Younger (1497-1554). (Basel.)

The first won were the Bavarian dukes, whose conservative bent had been strengthened and guided by their reactionary chancellor, Dr. Leonhard von Eck (Fig. 16). In exchange for a considerable portion of the

church revenues in their possession and the subjection of the ecclesiastical authority to the ducal, these princes pledged themselves to defend the old faith and to persecute unrelentingly all heretics in their dominions. Archduke Ferdinand, the brother of the emperor, to whom he had entrusted the administration of the Austrian dominions, together with most of the princes of Upper Germany, united with the Bavarian dukes in holding a convention at Ratisbon (1524), in which they forbade their subjects to read Luther's works, prescribed the observance of the old worship, and urged the preachers to guide themselves by the teaching of the Church Fathers.

The first step toward a separation from the whole nation was thus taken by the conservative side ; it was, no doubt, from the point of view of statesmanship a justifiable one, since the reform had not yet been declared approved by the diet. More than this, the Ratisbon convention could deck itself with the authority of the emperor, who from Spain was insisting upon the strenuous execution of the Edict of Worms. This was done in the lands of the princes of the Ratisbon body, and a sanguinary persecution of the Lutherans began. The Lutherans were, at the same time, losing many of their aristocratic friends. The majority of the humanists, formerly zealous friends of the reformer, now turned away from him, partly from the respect that learned men are apt to have for a thousand-year-old tradition, and partly because they foresaw that in this fierce contest about faiths, knowledge would be little prized, their learned efforts would be undone, and the gloomy theology of the Middle Ages would be revived. Above all, Erasmus (Fig. 47) was dissatisfied with the popular and tumultuous ways of the Reformation ; he, the intellectual aristocrat, would have such lofty questions left to learned men, in order that peace and obedience might abide among the common people.

The friends of the Reformation answered this challenging movement of the conservatives by unions of their own. The imperial cities and the imperial princes along the Rhine resolved to hold by God's word. The Franconian line of the house of Brandenburg (Fig. 48), the princes of Ansbach and Bayreuth, together with Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the electors of Saxony and the Palatinate, and several other lords likewise admitted and protected free preaching in their dominions. It was of especial importance at this time that the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, Albert of Brandenburg, after a journey in which he met Luther, secularized the Order on the latter's advice, and exchanged his grand-mastership for a hereditary Protestant dukedom (1526). He obtained the consent of his feudal sovereign, the king of



FIG. 48.—Portrait of Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg as St. Jerome. By Lucas Cranach, the elder. (Royal Museum, Berlin.)

Poland, to this important measure, and thus Eastern Prussia became a hereditary possession of the Hohenzollerns.

The German knightly class was broken up, German unity sundered; the popular element was also to suffer a bitter and lasting defeat. The blossoms of German national life were to be blasted before they could unfold. The writings of Luther and of his adherents, whose fiery words were so plainly addressed to the common people, had powerfully contributed to the political agitation. The fact that these words proclaimed resistance to pope and clergy, as well as to their champions among the princes, could not but weaken everywhere the authority of rulers. Lutheran pastors, and especially wandering preachers, often directly stirred the lower classes up against Catholic governments. In the pamphlets of the time the common man had been spoken of with praise. The freedom of the lower classes and the rule of the people was preached in many places, particularly in Middle and South Germany.

Thomas Münzer gave these doctrines, already dangerous enough, a still more pernicious character by coupling with them the violent execution and extirpation of all unbelievers—that is, of all who differed from him. Driven out of Zwickau, where he had been one of the first “prophets” of the Anabaptists, he declared himself the champion of the lower classes against the higher, and as such preached in the very presence of the Elector of Saxony. All this was contrary to Luther’s ideas, and seemed to him the more threatening to the cause of the Reformation, because since the Edict of Worms the common people had done nothing for this cause, while the princes had to some extent promoted it. He had not declared the freedom of the will for every man, but only freedom to direct himself according to the contents of the Holy Scriptures, the only rule of action as of faith. Whatever went beyond the letter of the Scriptures seemed to Luther damnable heresy. But the Scriptures are often ambiguous. Luther was for a long time sadly perplexed by this doubt. Finally, he worked his way to a conviction that this doubt was a temptation of the devil, that God himself reveals to man the right meaning of his Holy Word. Henceforth he attacked all who thought otherwise with zeal and stubbornness. He assailed the fanatics with his books “On the Saints” and “Against the Heavenly Prophets.” He persuaded his elector to expel Karlstadt and Münzer from Saxony. This measure only resulted in spreading the bad seed over distant lands where the social revolution was already fostering a spirit of rebellion, especially in Upper Germany, which had long been deeply stirred by a hundred years of democratic aspirations as well as by oppressive economic condi-

tions. In these lands the fanatics hoped to be able to apply to material interests the ideas of the reformers concerning evangelical liberty.

The peasants of Kempten were oppressed and fleeced by their abbot, contrary to all justice and precedent. When all other means of help had proved useless, they formed (February, 1525) with the other peasants of the district a league to secure "God's Justice," that is, liberation from temporal masters and ecclesiastical tithes. With lightning speed the movement for "God's Justice," which meant then nearly what 250 years later was called "Rights of Man," extended over the whole of Swabia. As a rumor arose that the Swabian League was coming to subdue them, the peasants flew to arms. They found allies among the peasantry and burghers of the valley of Lake Constance and the Upper Danube, who had risen in arms early in 1524 to uphold the religious-socialistic principles preached by Münzer. An able leader, Ulrich Schmid, introduced order and unity into this heretofore tumultuous mob by giving emphasis to the evangelical element, and securing, in consequence, a higher and more uniform character than the earlier peasant risings had possessed.

In March, 1525, two gatherings of the three great communities of the Allgau, Lake Constance and the Upper Danube were held, and a common organization was discussed and adopted; the demands of the peasants embodied in twelve articles:—the right of the villages to choose freely their preachers; free exercise of religion; abolition of tithes; abolition of serfdom; freedom of hunting and fishing; freedom to gather fire-wood; cessation of compulsory labor and of rents. On the whole a consistent, moderate and justifiable programme.

Had the peasants at once struck at their enemies while these were dismayed and disunited, and occupied, besides, in repelling an attack of Ulrich of Würtemberg upon his old possessions, they would have obtained an easy victory, though maybe a temporary one. But they allowed themselves to be delayed by treacherous negotiations. Realizing this, at last they began the struggle, and with good success. The peasantry of Franconia, likewise, rose and compelled nobles, cities and clergy to subscribe to the Twelve Articles. The same thing occurred in Alsace and in the Tyrol. The Count of Helfenstein endeavored to defend Weinsberg; he was overpowered, and with all his companions speared to death by the peasants. The most powerful lords of South Germany, the whole Swabian League, were forced to submit (May, 1525). Everywhere castles and convents went up in flames. In the larger towns the people forced the magistrates to side with the peasants; the imperial city of Heilbronn became the centre of the whole organization, which was

henceforth directed by a council of the league. Comprehensive plans for popularizing the church, and for subjecting all men to the exclusive authority of the emperor and of his representatives, the only magistrates mentioned in the New Testament, sprang up among the leaguers. The Twelve Articles (Fig. 49) were no longer sufficient; learned jurists and churchmen, literary men of all kinds, suggested to the peasants far more wide-reaching ideas.

In Thuringia the rising assumed a peculiar character under the leadership of Thomas Münzer. In Mühlhausen this man succeeded in car-

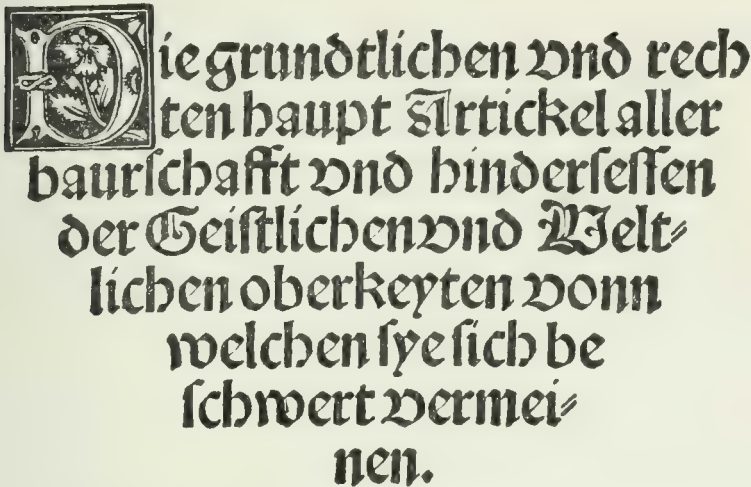


FIG. 49.—Facsimile of the title-page of the Twelve Articles of the peasants (1525).

rying out his wild, religious communistic views; a state like that of Israel, made up of God's elect, was to be founded; no mercy was to be shown to the higher classes; Münzer was to destroy them utterly with the sword of Gideon!

A revolution was thus at hand, which threatened not only to remove abuses, but likewise all culture, and to bring back the dark times of the barbarian invasion.

Luther was too truly a child of the people not to have felt sympathy for the sufferings of the peasants. In his "Exhortation to Peace," he urged them, it is true, to lay aside violence (Fig. 50), but pressed much more earnestly upon the princes that they should cease their oppression of the common people. Nevertheless, when the peasants overstepped the Twelve Articles and threatened society with a realization of their millennial, communistic dreams by means of fire and sword, Luther broke

wholly away from them. Led on by political antagonism, as well as by theological intolerance, he wrote his violent pamphlet "Against the Plundering and Murdering Peasantry," in which he urges the governments to a merciless destruction of the peasants, "Stab, strike, butcher, whoever can."

The governments needed no such urging; they inclined strongly enough in that direction by themselves. The next thing was to prevent the rebellion from extending into Middle Germany or from penetrating into the still peaceful north. The pillar of the princely power there

Von dem haß des volcks/ Das XXXIII. Capitel.



FIG. 50.—Scene from the Peasants' War. Facsimile of a woodcut from a book by Francesco Petrarch, Augsburg, 1532.

was Philip of Hesse, who, after pacifying his own peasants by a few concessions, appeared with his horsemen in Thuringia.

Frederick the Wise had died early in May, 1525, and been succeeded by his more determined brother, John. Philip of Hesse and his two cousins of the Albertine line united their forces with his, and the four princes easily defeated the army of peasants which Münzer had gathered at Frankenhausen, and which showed itself as cowardly as its leader was incapable (May 15, 1525). Five thousand peasants were slain, and Münzer was taken prisoner and executed. Thuringia submitted without further resistance. Meanwhile, the Duke of Lorraine was butchering the unfor-

fortunate Alsatians. Seventeen thousand, who had expected to save themselves by capitulation at Zabern, were shamefully slaughtered. With equal baseness the Elector of Treves, the Elector Palatine and the Swabian League broke their agreement with the peasants. At the head of their squadrons, George Truchsess of Waldburg subdued, first, Würtemberg and then Franconia. The cowardly Bishop of Würzburg now took bloody vengeance on his subjects, to whom he had previously made all conceivable concessions. Finally, with the assistance of Bavaria, the peasants of the Allgau, who had been lulled by a peace, were also defeated, but received, on the whole, favorable conditions. At the close of the summer of 1525, this terrible uprising that had come so near success, was completely suppressed. Dissension among the peasants, their blind confidence in the dishonest promises of the lords, their precipitancy and their lack of warlike discipline had caused their overthrow. The reaction could not fail to come.

At first but few princes were farsighted and mild enough to do as did Philip of Hesse and Archduke Ferdinand,—to anticipate future risings by the removal of the worst burdens of oppression. Most sought rather their security and their vengeance in wholesale executions and fines, thus adding more intolerable burdens on their unfortunate subjects. The desolation of flourishing districts, the increased wretchedness of the survivors, and the reduction of the peasantry into slavish dependence and apathy—these were the immediate results of the Peasants' War.

The democratic movement had received a blow from which it never recovered; and with it fell the rising strength of national spirit. From the Peasants' War everything goes downward in Germany, in the country and in the cities, in refinement and in originality. Every hope of a regeneration of the fatherland was at an end. "The prospects of Germany were never more pitiful than now," said Luther himself.

A leaden weight pressed upon the whole empire in which princes, nobles, and priests were triumphant. Even Philip of Hesse (Fig. 51) and John of Saxony wavered a moment in their allegiance to the new doctrine, which, in spite of Luther's foresight, they considered, not wholly without reason, as answerable for the uprising of the peasants. In many places religious persecution had been suspended for fear of popular revolt, but now, after the bloody overthrow of the peasantry, this was no longer the case. The government of Austria, and the ecclesiastical lords of Southern Germany, seized the uprising as a pretext to slay heretics by the hundred. Duke George of Saxony, one of the most steadfast among the conservatives, caused men to be executed simply because Lutheran books had been found in their possession. He held repeated meetings

with the Duke of Brunswick and the two Hohenzollern electors of Brandenburg and of Mayence, to devise ways for the protection of the old doctrine, and at Dessau made an agreement with them to wipe out



FIG. 51. Landgrave Philip of Hesse. Woodcut by Hans Brosamer. (Gotha.)

Lutheranism, as the root of the Peasants' War. The reaction became bolder and more confident everywhere. Luther's enthusiasm, his mighty

national hopes, his confidence in the people, were gone ; he now anxiously sought the favor of the princes.

His marriage (June, 1525) to a former nun, Catharine of Bora, raised among all his opponents fresh hostility and contempt, gave a painful shock to his friends, and caused great scandal among the common people. Melancthon himself thought the whole Reformation imperilled by it.

But the excesses (Fig. 52) of the victorious reactionary party worked



FIG. 52.—Instruments of torture. Woodcut by Hans Burgkmair (1472-1531).

harm to itself. Men laid the responsibility for the cruelties which had brought on the Peasants' War, and now followed it, upon the ecclesiastical princes. Entire districts and cities threw off their allegiance to the bishops. Even Archduke Ferdinand and the dukes of Bavaria formed plans for the confiscation of ecclesiastical principalities ; thus the idea of secularization was first expressed by Catholics.

Affairs in Germany were in this unsettled condition when Charles, after the conclusion of the Treaty of Madrid, turned his attention to

them. Flushed with victory, nearer than ever to the realization of his plans of universal dominion, the emperor was resolved to carry out his will in Germany, and to enforce the Edict of Worms. To guard against the threatening danger, the states where the Reformation had found acceptance, resolved to form a league; the Elector of Saxony, and Philip of Hesse, and five other North German princes, and the city of Magdeburg joined together at Torgau (June, 1526), "to assist each other with all their power, if any one of them were attacked, for the sake of the divine Word, or for the removal of abuses." The division of the empire in two antagonistic parts was complete.

But when the diet, so dreaded by the Protestants, met at Spires in the summer of 1526, the emperor showed himself by no means zealous in the furtherance of the papal reaction. This sudden turn of Charles was caused by foreign politics. The promulgation of the Treaty of Madrid had roused France to universal disapproval, so that Francis I. was glad to use this as a pretext to declare himself unable to fulfil his solemn pledges. The pope readily gave his sanction to this; and in order to free Italy from the Spaniards, he released the king from his oath, and entered upon an alliance with him at Cognac (May, 1526). Immediately papal soldiers invaded Upper Italy to assist the Milanese, who had rebelled against the arrogant rule of the Spaniards. In Naples and in Sicily also was raised the cry, "Death to the Spaniards," and the people rose in arms. When the emperor scornfully rejected the proposal of Francis to fulfil the other conditions of the Treaty of Madrid, but to substitute for the cession of Burgundy the payment of two million florins (the emperor had really most at heart the recovery of this, his ancestral land), the French monarch proclaimed his intention to set Italy free, and persuaded the king of England to join the league of Cognac. The desire to drive the Spaniards out of Italy caused Clement VII. to overlook the fact that he was, thereby, aiding Lutheranism; for the emperor, indignant at Clement's ingratitude, would now do nothing more for him in Germany. Accordingly, the diet at Spires (1526) decided that, until a general or national church council was convened, every prince might enforce the Edict of Worms or disregard it altogether, as he pleased.

This became the decisive formula for the further religio-political development of Germany. At Worms had been considered the prospect of an exclusive Catholicism; at Nuremberg the possibility of a general reform; in Spires both parties were granted legal rights. For the first time the division was recognized by the tribunal of the empire; it was an important fact that the choice of Lutheranism or Catholicism was left, not to the individual subject, but to the prince. This was the first reali-

Sieben Köpffe Martini Luthers
 Vom Hochwürdigem Sacrament des Altars / Durch
 Doctor Jo. Coeleus.



FIG. 53.—Facsimile from a contemporary print in ridicule of Luther, who is represented with seven heads.

zation of the doctrine that for two centuries prevailed in Germany—"eius regio ejus religio." From this time dates the official sanction of that division in the church which was so harmful to Germany; but at the



1529

Vorrede

II

ⁿ Zum andern/ Die heubtartickel

Vnsers Glaubens.



Ich glaube an Gott vater allmechtigen / schöpffer hymels vnd der erden. Vnd an Ihesum Christum seinen einigen son vnsern Herrn/ der empfangen ist von dem heiligen geist / geporen aus Maria der Jungkfrawen / gelidten hat vnter Pontio Pilato / gecrentzigt / gestorben / vnd begraben ist / Niddergefahren zur helle / am dritten tage widder auffgestanden von todten / Auffgefahren gen hymel / sitzend zur rechten hand Gottes des allmechtigen vaters / vnd von dannen zukunfftig zurichten die lebendigen vnd todten.

Ich glaube an den heiligen geist. Eine heilige Christliche Kirche / gemeinschaft der heiligen. Vergebung der sunden. Aufferstehung des fleischs. Vnd ein ewigs leben. Amen.

Zum dritten/ Das gebete odder

Vater vnser / so Christus gelet hat.



Vater vnser der du bist ym himel / Beheiligt werde dein name.

Zukome dein reich. Dein wille geschehe / als ym himel auch auff erden. Vnser teglich brod gib vns heute. Vnd verlass vns vnser schuld / als wir verlassen vnsern schuldigern.

A iij

Vnd

same time the Lutheran church had secured legal ground on which to grow and develop freely. This development was bound up with the victory of the territorial princes over all efforts at unity, over the robber-knights, and over democracy. It was natural, and we cannot justly reproach the Reformation for it, that the church authority, wrested from pope and bishops, was transferred to princes and magistrates. The popular element, once prominent, became more and more effaced in the official Reformation, and the Lutheran clergy soon became as intolerant as the Catholic. Luther repeatedly caused clergymen and laymen to be persecuted by his elector on account of lax religious views.

In November, 1526, Luther applied for the first time to Elector John to put an end to the insufferable confusion in church and school by means of a "sovereign visitation," and to subject religious institutions to a uniform law. Certainly this had become necessary. Release from confession and penance, and from all church discipline such as had prevailed under the old system, and the idea that faith alone saves, while "good works" are almost useless accompaniments, had, among the adherents of the new doctrine, encouraged an unbridled immorality. The visitation began its work in 1527, under the admirable supervision of the gentle but firm Philip Melanchthon. To facilitate the work, he prepared the "Eighteen Visitation Articles," which, agreeing as they did with his own moderate views, contained, in the eyes of the more decided friends of the Reformation, many suggestive reminders of the old church. They direct the preacher, instead of busying himself exclusively with polemics, as heretofore, to attend especially to the moral education and improvement of his people; to urge repentance, earnest faith, the good works that grow out of this faith, and obedience to superiors. A superintendent was appointed to have the oversight of the clergy of every district. Melanchthon still neglects, in these articles, popular education and urges only the erection of numerous Latin schools.

The order of religious service, which Melanchthon ordered in the Visitation Articles, became model regulations for the whole evangelical church. The next year Luther took part in the visitation and perfected Melanchthon's articles in his "Larger" and his "Lesser Catechism," in 1529 (Figs. 54, 55).

These Saxon Visitation Articles, with modifications tending to make them more popular, were adopted in Hesse also. There the property of the monasteries was confiscated and part given to the founding of the new University of Marburg, a second theological centre of the new religion, Wittenberg being the first. The Visitation was introduced in Ansbach and Bayreuth, Brunswick, Lüneburg, East Friesland, Schleswig-

Die Figur der Tauff vnfers Heilands Ihesu Christi

Gottbeit in dreien Personen geschehen ist / Welch



We sich Gott hat zu erkennen geben
Durch seinen Son / das ware leben/
Das zeigt vns diese Bildnus an.
Daruñd sie billich jederman
Beschaun sol vnd mercken wol/
Wie man Gott recht erkennen sol.
Christus der ware Gottes Son
Der ewig sit auffß Vaters Thron
Herab in Jordan ist gekomen

Von Sanct Johans die Tauff genomen
Darben erscheinet also bald
Der heilig Geist gar gleich gestalt
Einer Tauben vom Himel herunder
Vnd mer also dis grosse wunder
Der Vater selbst ist auch darben
Bezeugt mit seiner stimme stey
Das Christus sey sein warer Son
An dem er hab gros freud vnd won

Den solt wir alle hören mit vles
Vnd geben im allein den preis.
Der haben sehe ein ieder Christ
Wenn er in angst vnd nöten ist
Das er im trost vnd rettung such
Nicht den Creatur/es ist betrug
Die Götzen gar nicht helfen mögen
Ir krafft vnd wird ist all erlogen
Man sol allein Gott ruffen an

Luther and the Family of the Elector of

Faefimile of a wood c

Also die herrliche Offenbarung der ewigen einigen
alle Christen in der Anrufung betrachten sollen.



Wie er sich selbst hat kund gethan
 Da er in drey Personen erscheint
 Bleibe doch im wesen gantz vereint
 Der ware Heiland Ihesu Christ
 Zur unser Sünd gestorben ist
 Hat gfült darmit seins Vaters zorn
 Uns allen die wir waren verlorren
 Des Vaters gnad vnd huld erheben
 Das wir mit freuden zu ihm treten

Der ist das ware Gottes Lam
 Für uns geschlacht am Creutze stam
 Wie Sanct Johannes zeiget an
 Dem hat gefolgt der theure Man
 Martinus Luther in Sachsen land
 Da er Christum hat gemacht bekant
 Zu Wittenberg im Stedtlein klein
 Die hie gecontraselt ist rein
 Duselbe Lehr hat auch bekant

Johans Fridrich bis an sein ende
 Mit seinem Gmal vnd Söhnen drey
 Welche dir weist dis gmel dabey
 Von welchen du solt lernen eben
 Wie man allhie im Creutz mus leben
 Vnd in gedult bestendig sein
 Den Gottes wort lauter vnd rein
 Darin steht alle seligkeit/
 Die geb uns Gott in ewigkeit

Saxony; Wittenberg in the background.

aving by Lucas Cranach.

Holstein, Hamburg, Nuremberg, and a few Silesian towns. In Prussia the bishops themselves became Lutherans and led the reform movement. Thus the new doctrine became at once a new church; the earlier confusion over dogma and form ceased; and the impure elements that had disgraced the Lutheran clergy were removed. This important change occurred in all the above-mentioned countries within the few years from 1527 to 1531. In addition to it, thanks to Luther's special care, arose the excellent system of popular education.

But this internal progress took place in the face of great outward danger. The Lutheran princes (PLATE III.) knew perfectly that the emperor was really hostile to their cause and kept the agreement of Spires only because present circumstances obliged him to do so. They were in constant fear of being attacked by the Catholic states.

How great was the irritation on both sides when an influential councillor of Duke George of Saxony, Dr. Otto von Pack, betrayed to Philip of Hesse a treaty which, it was alleged, had been concluded at Breslau between Duke George, Ferdinand, the electors of Mayence and Brandenburg, and some others, to root out the new doctrine! Philip and Elector John of Saxony at once formed a counter-league; indeed, the fiery Landgrave of Hesse wished to begin war against the Breslau allies at once, and was only with difficulty restrained by the more prudent John. The Catholic princes denied emphatically the existence of such an alliance; Pack had to confess that he had not seen the original but only a copy. He was banished by the landgrave, and later arrested by the government of the Netherlands and executed (1528). Each side had, at any rate, become convinced of the hostile intention of the other.

The Lutherans had the greater ground for anxiety, because of the greater advantage that Charles had again obtained over his antagonists. Though in the summer of 1526 he had become, instead of a victorious conqueror, an object of attack from enemies on all sides, he had not long been disconcerted; but by treaties and levies of troops, prepared to meet the new dangers. His greatest safety lay in the disunion and incapacity of his opponents. Francis I. had declared war before collecting an army to carry it on, so that the burden of the struggle fell upon the Italians, who did little to justify their claim to national independence. When the Venetians and their mercenaries endeavored to relieve the castle of Milan, where Sforza had taken refuge, they suffered an ignominious defeat, and the castle was obliged to surrender to the emperor. In Rome, the Colonna family, ever inclined to Ghibelline views, extorted from the pope the promise to conclude peace with Charles—a promise which, of course, he broke as soon as circumstances allowed him.



FIG. 56.—George of Frundsberg; in the Castle at Ambras. Faesimile of an engraving from a work, issued in 1602, upon the collection at Ambras.

While Clement was thus paralyzed, and France was slowly recovering from her defeat, the emperor had time to assemble a formidable force. It then appeared how mighty an army he might have brought together had he put himself at the head of the anti-papal party of Germany. When he now called for men against the pope, 15,000 enlisted, 4000 of whom offered their services without pay, the rest on the lowest terms, out of hatred for "antichrist." Old George Frundsberg (Fig. 56) led them; when he came to Rome he said he would hang the pope. The hope also of securing the treasures to be found in the Eternal City, doubtless, had some influence on the men. Frundsberg forced his way through Upper Italy, and in February, 1527, he united his forces with those of Bourbon, who now had 28,000 men. Frundsberg was killed in a riot of the landsknechts, and Bourbon took command and marched at once upon his only antagonist in the field, the pope. Charles V. was playing a double game; he did not exactly authorize the Constable Bourbon to proceed against the head of the church, but did nothing to restrain him from an attack which he had notoriously been planning for three months; for Bourbon had nothing less in mind than to make Rome once more the capital of the empire. On May 6, 1527, he stormed the city; he himself fell, but within a half hour from his death his German and Spanish soldiery were within the walls. The pope shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo. The crimes of the victors have often been exaggerated; the slaughter was not large, but the fallen papacy was plundered with little restraint. This capture of the Eternal City forms an important stage in the history of the Italian mind. With it the pleasure-loving and intellectual Rome of the Renaissance comes to an end; humanists and artists are scattered in all directions. After withstanding a siege of one month, Clement grew weary of his prison and made his peace by promising to pay 400,000 scudi, and by giving to the imperialists as security the principal fortresses of the Papal States. Charles pretended to be greatly afflicted by the harm done Christ's vicegerent, and countermanded the festivities already proclaimed in celebration of the birth of his son Philip; but he did absolutely nothing to lighten for the pope the hard conditions of peace, or to rid him of the disorderly Spanish-German forces that occupied Rome. His object was, by these hardships, to drive the Holy Father to convoke a general council, which should attempt a moderate reform of the church, somewhat on the lines of the Council of Constance. Charles hoped thereby at once to be rid of Lutheranism, and at the same time to pose as protector of the church universal, after the manner of the old emperors.

But he had calculated wrongly. Francis I. and Henry VIII. entered

upon a new alliance at Amiens (August, 1527) against the "pope's jailor," to deliver the pontiff. Francis sent an army of 30,000 men across the Alps under Lautrec's command. It met at first with no opposition, as the imperial army, wholly demoralized by its excesses and by sickness,



FIG. 57.—Andrea Doria. Reduced facsimile of the woodcut by Nicolaus Meldemann (about 1530).

had fallen back on Naples. The Venetians, Florentines, and forces of Sforza joined Lautrec to besiege Naples and drive out the hated Spanish.

But fortune that had lately turned her back upon Charles V. now turned again a smiling face upon him. Pestilence began to rage among

the French at Naples, and Francis I. himself proved his own worst enemy. The most important of all French adherents in Italy was Andrea Doria (Fig. 57), admiral of the republic of Genoa. As France had no fleet of her own, the Genoese fleet supplied this want, and blockaded the port of Naples. The king not only treated the admiral most offensively, but the republic also, in seizing, without any reason, the city and territory of Savona. Indignant at this outrage, Doria turned to the emperor, who knew how to appreciate such an ally, and offered Genoa the most favorable conditions. Thereupon, Doria hoisted the imperial flag, and cut the French off from their supplies by sea, while the light cavalry of the emperor cut them off by land. Francis made no effort to rescue his fine army, which fell a prey to famine and pestilence; hardly 4000 sound men were left to surrender at Aversa (August, 1528).

The emperor had reconquered Southern Italy as rapidly as he had previously lost it. But the pope, Venice, and Sforza still sided with the French, who had gathered fresh forces in Upper Italy. Clement VII. even urged the French king to secure the armed assistance of the Lutheran Germans, so completely with him did politics overshadow religion. But the knavery of the French commissary, who embezzled the money raised for the war, together with the foolish wastefulness of Francis and his mother, again crippled French operations in Upper Italy. The heroic defender of Pavia, Antonio de Leyva, surprised the French at Landriano (June, 1529) and forced them to surrender.

Thus by the surrenders at Landriano and Aversa Charles was now again master of all Italy and was urged to make peace. First came the pope, greatly angered by the rebellion of the Florentines against princes of his family. Charles's policy, as we know, considered the co-operation of the head of the church as indispensable, and June 29, 1529, a treaty was concluded between them at Barcelona. Clement acknowledged the emperor as sovereign of Naples, and Charles promised to restore the pope his former dominions, and to bring back the Medici to Florence; both agreed to extirpate the Lutheran heresy.

It is thus seen how strongly the Reformation was still affected by the foreign relations of the emperor. This anti-Lutheran alliance between the pope and Charles V. became still more formidable when peace was made with France. Peace was signed at Cambrai, July 7, 1529, by two women, Louise of Savoy and Margaret of Austria (hence called the *Paix des Dames* or "Ladies' Peace"). It renewed the conditions of the Treaty of Madrid except that, as an offset for Burgundy, Charles received a large sum of gold and the cession of the fortress of Tournai, which had till now been an isolated French possession in the Netherlands.

Thus Italians and Lutherans alike were abandoned to Charles's mercy. The emperor appeared in Italy in person (August, 1529), at the head of a fresh army. Sforza was allowed to retain Milan, but as Charles's vassal and on payment of 900,000 gold crowns. Venice had



CIEMENS VII PONT MAX IMP CAES CAROLVS V P F AVG

FIG. 58. —Entry of Emperor Charles V. and Pope Clement VII. into Bologna, upon the former's coronation in February, 1530. Facsimile of the engraving by Nicholas Hogenberg.

also to pay heavy sums and to bind herself to assist the emperor in the defence of Italy. Charles had a long intimate conference with the pope in Bologna (Fig. 58), in the course of which the latter solemnly placed upon his head the imperial crown (February, 1530). Florence alone

made a brave stand in defence of her liberties, but she was at length taken by an imperial army, and Charles appointed as ruler over her an illegitimate descendant of the Medici, Alessandro, who soon assumed the title of duke, preparatory to putting an end to the republic.

Charles, under these circumstances, which had on the one hand made his power irresistible, on the other brought him into a close alliance with the pope, now assumed again toward the Reformation his natural attitude, one of decided hostility. In this spirit his ambassadors and his brother, Ferdinand, went to the diet that had opened at Spires in March, 1529. The authority of the empire, the promise of an early general council for reform, the improvements really introduced in the districts of Southern Germany, and the vigorous pamphlets defending the Catholic Church against the Lutheran assaults, drew back to the old faith many states that had been at first inclined to Lutheranism. The orthodox again controlled a majority of votes, and the diet resolved that each state should have the right to carry out the Edict of Worms within its boundaries; and that generally, even in the reformed states, no further reforms should be attempted before the general council. This decree of the diet did not go quite as far as the diet of Worms, but by checking further reform and by favoring the opponents of reform it would ultimately have the same result—the extinction of the Reformation.

The Lutheran states saw that their very existence was at stake, and they had courage enough in their convictions to protest against the assumption that in matters of conscience a majority should decide: "in things that concern the salvation and happiness of our souls, every one must stand by himself and give an account for himself." This sounds like a proclamation of liberty of conscience, but in reality the protesting powers claimed this liberty for themselves only, and persecuted as fiercely as the Catholics any one of their subjects who wished "to stand by himself before God." Still, the Protest of Spires (April 25, 1529) was a bold act, and was so important that the protesting states were called "Protestants" and their doctrines "Protestantism." The Reformation, condemned at Worms, had thus become a power in the world; and even though the five princes and fourteen cities that signed the protest were little inclined to grant to others the liberty of conscience which they claimed for themselves, the very fact that the power of the single religion was destroyed, that men were ceasing to believe, as they had throughout the Middle Ages, that no truth was possible or conceivable outside the Catholic church, and that separation from the church was a damnable revolt against God,—this fact alone must sooner or later have brought in

that liberty of conscience, whose principles were now being proclaimed by men who denied it to anyone but themselves.

Germany had now become irrevocably divided into an orthodox majority, under the leadership of the emperor and his brother, and a reforming minority. This schism broke up the unity of the empire for more than three centuries, and brought on a most terrible civil war. Had a national monarch placed himself at the head of the reform movement and led it, the consequences would have been beneficial not for Germany alone but for the church itself, whose unity could have been preserved. But it is through this schism that freedom of thought and liberty of conscience have come. And to-day, in happier times, Germany may console herself for the disunion of the last 300 years and its consequent misfortunes, with the consciousness of having been the originator and the harbinger of the greatest and noblest conception of modern times.

In the very year when the Hapsburgs received the great advantages from the Peace of Madrid another and still richer acquisition fell to them. No other ruling family in Europe, with the exception of the Hapsburgs themselves, possessed so many provinces as that of the great princes of Lithuania, the Jagellons. Since the close of the fourteenth century they had united Poland to Lithuania, and at the end of the fifteenth they had, through a younger branch, become masters first of Bohemia, then of Hungary. But the glory of their power was now over. In both parts of their dominion, Poland-Lithuania and Bohemia-Hungary, an arrogant nobility had become the real masters of the state. In Hungary their leader was the rich and powerful John Zápolya, Count of Zips and ruler of Transylvania. He held high the national banner against the foreigners, the Jagellons, and the Hapsburgs who had made with the Jagellons a contract with reference to inheritance, strengthened by mutual intermarriages. The Hungarian kingdom was threatened by the constantly increasing power of the Ottoman Turks, especially after 1520, when Solyman II. the Magnificent became sultan at the age of twenty-four, a wise law-giver and administrator, and an ambitious conqueror. He had already taken the Island of Rhodes from the Knights of St. John, to whom the emperor then gave Malta as a new refuge, and had also wrested Semlin and Belgrade from Hungary. Finally, in the spring of 1526, with a force of 100,000 men and 300 guns, he marched once more against the Hungarians. In vain did the last representative of this branch of the Jagellons, young Louis II., throw himself in his way; he and his small army were annihilated by the superior Turkish forces at Mohács, August 29, 1526. Buda, then

Der stadt Wien belegerung. wie die auff
dem hohen saut Eßlans thurm allenhalben geritten. vñ die ganze
stadt zu wasser vñ landt mit allen dem anjehen geseit ist. Vñ
von einem berumpfen in ander. zu den das auff Eßlans thum in
der selb belegerung verordnet geseit ist. mit andern slag verjoch
net vñ abgemacht. zu dem nach Christi trut. M. CCC. LXX. vñ
im. LXX. in tract. 46. 47. 48.



Siege of Vienna in 1529

the capital of Hungary, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and the whole of Western Europe was threatened. But what was a threat to all others became an advantage to the Hapsburgs. The death of Louis II. without a direct heir brought them two kingdoms. The Bohemians were the first to acknowledge the supremacy of the Hapsburgs; and at this time Silesia, Moravia, as well as Upper and Lower Lusatia, belonged to Bohemia; at the end of 1526 Ferdinand was king of Bohemia. In Hungary, where the national party had raised Zápolya to the throne, Ferdinand at first had difficulty, but when, in the summer of 1527, he appeared with a German army, he obtained possession of nearly the whole kingdom, and was crowned with the crown of St. Stephen.

Thus both Bohemia and Hungary passed into the hands of the Hapsburgs, and there they remain unto this day. But the government of them was not easy, for in both kingdoms the princes were more powerful than the crown, and accustomed to independence. Zápolya had fled to Galicia and formed an alliance with Solyman; he declared himself the sultan's vassal, and was, in consequence, promised friendship and aid. With the purpose of securing for Islam a final victory over Christendom—a united Islam against a Christendom torn by religious and political differences—Solyman (Fig. 59) in May, 1529, invaded Hungary with more than 200,000 men, and with Zápolya's aid, completely conquered it in a few weeks. Then he crossed the frontier of Germany, and in September encamped before the walls of Vienna (PLATE IV.). The garrison of the city, 16,000 strong, defended the extensive and ill-kept walls so valiantly that after a month Solyman was forced to withdraw with a loss of 40,000 men. The Ottoman invasion was driven back from Germany, but Hungary remained in the hands of Zápolya and his master, the sultan.

After his successes against France and in Italy, the emperor thought it best to return to Germany to carry out his double purpose of suppressing the Protestants, and then uniting all the military resources of Germany against the Turks. To facilitate this he convoked a diet at Augsburg. The Protestants knew that the religious question would be particularly discussed at this diet. Elector John summoned the theologians of Wittenberg to Torgau to prepare for the diet a Protestant declaration of faith; their "Torgau Articles" (March 15, 1530) stoutly maintained the essential Lutheran doctrines, made concessions in only a few minor matters, and breathed a spirit of bitter hostility against Zwingli's views.

About the middle of June, 1530, the emperor arrived from Italy at Augsburg, where most of the members of the diet had preceded him.



FIG. 59. Soliman the Magnificent. Reduced facsimile of an anonymous woodcut of the first third of the sixteenth century.

Charles and his counsellors met among the Lutherans a surprising firmness and force of conviction. Nothing could induce them to participate in any Catholic ceremonial, either within a church or in the streets. Elector John had brought Melancthon with him, as Luther was kept in Coburg by sickness. This bold attitude of the Protestants produced a deep impression on Charles, who, wishing to try whether a union of the two religious parties might not be effected on the ground of a moderate reform, asked Melancthon to prepare a brief and clear synopsis of the Lutheran system. The Confession of Faith which he drew up, resembling in many respects the earlier Torgau Articles, was signed not merely by theologians, but by princes of electoral Saxony, Hesse, Franconia, Brandenburg, and Anhalt, together with the imperial cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, and was presented to the emperor on June 25, 1530, as the *Confessio Augustana*. It was unambiguous, free from disturbing side-issues, and in many points made concessions to the Old Church; the strict doctrine of predestination was given up, a desire for reunion with the Catholics expressed, private confession and the mass continued, and even, though with some limitations, the power of the bishops in spiritual matters acknowledged. But if Melancthon's desire for peace was clearly indicated by these concessions, in all essentials he had carefully preserved the teachings of Luther, and the latter, who at first was displeased by the caution of his friend, soon declared himself satisfied with the confession which henceforth became the foundation of Protestant Lutheran doctrine. Indeed, Luther was proud to see that faith which he had himself acknowledged "in a corner," as it were, "forsaken like a wild flower," now "loudly proclaimed by princes and cities in the presence of the emperor and the imperial diet." "I am bound to see and to understand by this that God is in truth a hearer of prayer." Henceforth he felt the worst was over, and he dreaded no more danger.

The emperor and Melancthon (Fig. 60) would gladly have come to an agreement on this basis. But the zealous Catholic majority of the diet urged decided hostility to the Protestants. A refutation of the Augsburg Confession was made by Dr. Eck and Dr. Faber before the papal legate Campeggi, which, in spite of its mild and respectful form, was wholly opposed to the Confession. To the great dissatisfaction of the emperor and of the majority in the diet, the Protestants would not listen to this refutation, because they were not allowed to make a reply. The Elector of Hesse went away in anger to prepare for the inevitable struggle. The other Protestant princes remained unshaken, and adhered to their faith in spite of all promises and threats. The majority pro-

posed an adjournment of the diet that should give the Protestants respite till the next April, to consider the articles not yet adjusted—and these were the most important—but forbade them to hinder any of their subjects in the exercise of their Catholic faith. The Protestants and their

psalms 2.
 Oculum filii, ne irascatur
 peccatis de via, cum exardescit in
 brachia sua eius. Beati omnes qui
 confidunt in eo
 philippus melancthon
 1 5 7 2

FIG. 60.—Facsimile of the last part of Melancthon's entry in the Reformers' Album in the Library at Wernigerode, 1542.

friends rejected this, but secured nothing thereby, as the majority and the emperor reverted to the Edict of Worms, and threatened to enforce it to the letter. Thus, when all attempts at compromise had failed,

Charles secured from the diet at Augsburg the right to proceed against the Protestants.

In his second object—the war against the Turks—Charles was less successful than in his action against the Protestants, for the 48,000 men promised for this purpose by the Catholic majority in the diet could not be furnished in the face of a threatening civil war. The time had come for the Protestants to show that they could fight for their convictions as well as talk. At the conference which the Protestant states held at Smalcald in Thuringia, December, 1530, the Lutheran theologians were persuaded by the jurists that the emperor was not the magistrate meant in Holy Scripture, that rather the individual princes were meant. To announce this new position, Luther sent out his “Warning to his Dear Germans,” in which he endeavored to fasten the responsibility of the eventual war on the Catholics. The princes and cities gathered at Smalcald resolved to petition the emperor to modify the resolution of the diet (Fig. 61), and to protest against the intended choice of Ferdinand as king of the Romans. They also mutually bound themselves to defend the divine Word.

The Protestants could not prevent the election of Ferdinand of Hungary and Bohemia as king of the Romans (January, 1531) by the Catholic electors, but they bound him by an express promise to carry out the decrees of the diet of Augsburg. The Lutheran states, in a second meeting at Smalcald (March 29, 1531), formed a defensive league for six years. This league at once hired troops and appointed procurators to defend the cause of the Protestants before the imperial chamber. One after another the large North German cities joined the Smalcaldic League, and when, toward the end of 1531, it comprehended nine princes and eleven cities, a formal constitution was adopted and a standing army of 12,000 men duly voted. Thus the Protestant minority had by close and vigorous union developed into a political power, and shown again that in politics at least, bold and well-considered action always has its reward. All persons in the empire who had anti-Austrian feelings and who for a time had been discouraged by the election of 1519, such as the Duke of Guelders and the Bavarian princes of Wittelsbach, even though Catholic in religion, now drew close to the Smalcaldic League and prepared to make with it a common stand against Hapsburg imperialism. It was very largely this fear of an undue growth of the Austrian house in Germany that prevented the Catholic states, with their overwhelming superiority, from crushing the Protestant League.

The emperor now saw both of the objects he had assigned to himself, in the beginning of 1530, unfulfilled: the Protestants, far from being

Des allerdurchleuchtig-
 stein großmechtigstē vn-
 überwindtlichsten Key-
 ser Karls des fünfften: vünd des
 heyligen Römischen Reichs peinlich gericht^s ord-
 nung/auff den Reichszcägen zu Augspurgk
 vnd Regenspurgk / in jaren dreissig / vn
 zwey vnd dreissig gehalten/auff-
 gericht vnd beschlossen.



Cum gratia et privilegio Imperiali.

FIG. 61. - Facsimile of the title-page of Charles V's law code: 1530-1532.

destroyed, were combined in a more determined opposition, and with the beginning of 1532, Solyman arose again, more formidable than ever. He had rejected all offers of peace made to him by Ferdinand, and was determined to have a decisive and final contest between Islam and Christianity. The Turks reckoned not a little on the religious dissensions which they knew to exist in Germany. But the Protestants refused the Turks their assistance, for Charles had cunningly changed his policy and was determined to bear with the Protestants till he had driven back the Turks; then he could tend to the heretics at his pleasure. So in the summer of 1531, Charles began to sound the Protestant princes through the Elector of Mayence; in the spring of the following year, negotiations were going on at Nuremberg in real earnest, which, after concessions on the side of the emperor and on the side of the Protestants, finally resulted, in July, 1532, in the so-called Religious Peace of Nuremberg: the emperor promised peace to all German states till a meeting of the general council; till then, also, all decrees of the imperial chamber against the Smalcald League were to be suspended.

The Catholic majority were indignant with the emperor for his concessions to the Protestants, but he remained firm, determined to gather all his strength against the Turks. The Peace of Nuremberg was maintained intact for fourteen years, greatly, as appeared afterward, to the benefit of the German Reformation, whose first appearance as a secular force had resulted in securing for itself respect and adherents.

The Peace of Nuremberg had a propitious effect on the Turkish war. The Protestants manifested great zeal, and with the assistance of Italy and Spain, there was gathered an army of 80,000 men, the finest that Christendom had seen for years. Solyman, astonished at this unexpected resistance, did not venture on a serious battle, and returned to Constantinople with his wild hordes. If Ferdinand had shown himself less arrogant with the Protestants, Hungary might have been reconquered; but he so irritated them that the larger part of them left the army, now that the German frontiers were safe. Meanwhile, Doria had defeated the Turkish fleet, and taken the most important strongholds of the Morca. The result of the campaign had been quite different from Solyman's expectation: he had been driven back from the German frontier a second time, and the Christians had inflicted serious loss on him—all as a consequence of the Peace of Nuremberg.

Meanwhile, events had been far less favorable to the Reformation in Switzerland.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND, IN SCANDINAVIA, AND IN ENGLAND, IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE victory of the Confederates in the Swabian War had secured for the thirteen Swiss cantons almost unlimited independence, their relation to the empire being scarcely more than nominal. The aim of their policy henceforth was to sunder completely this relation. They failed to keep the pledges of loyalty to the empire which they had made to Maximilian; they were ready to sell the service of their troops to the nation which would pay best. By the "Everlasting Peace" of 1516 they went over to the hereditary enemy of the empire, the king of France. The intellectual connection with Germany had been greatly weakened; in the Forest Cantons the people were narrow and stupid; in the larger cities they were corrupted by the pensions paid them by foreign states, and by evil habits contracted in foreign wars. No one cared to toil and save; in true soldierly fashion, the easily-gotten gains were wasted in feasting, or spent for costly clothing or furniture.

The antagonism between the laity and the clergy which existed in Germany did not exist in Switzerland. The two classes exhibited, in general, the same virtues and the same vices. Under such circumstances, the reform movement originating in Germany could hardly make its way in the Confederacy, with the exception of the literary city of Basel. The reformation had to come from within, and grow up out of the midst of the Swiss people; as a result, it had a distinct character of its own.

The Swiss reformer, Ulrich Zwingli (Fig. 62), was born on January 1, 1484, one year after Luther, at Wildhaus, in the canton of St. Gall, of a respectable peasant family. After studying at Basel and Bern, he completed his literary training at the University of Vienna. There was in him neither Luther's torturing self-examination, nor Melancthon's severe scientific learning; he was a sincere, straight-forward, serene son of the mountains, more fond of the society of women than was quite fitting for his ecclesiastical position. His purpose—out of which arose later his labors as reformer—was at first to improve the moral and political condition of his native land, which was suffering the evil conse-

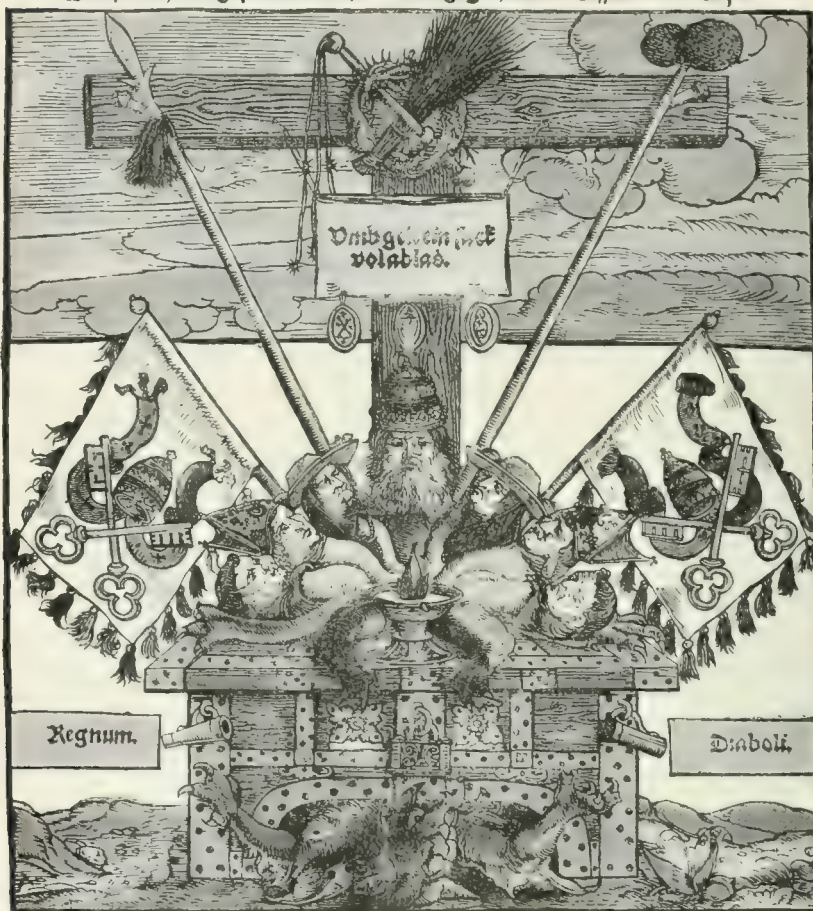
quences of the custom prevalent among the Swiss of hiring themselves out as soldiers to foreign monarchs. In 1516 he was called from his position as schoolmaster in Basel to the pastorate of the church at Glarus, and took



FIG. 62.—Zwingli. Painting by Hans Asper (1499-1571). (Zurich.)

holy orders. Too honest a man to consider the priesthood simply as a means of livelihood, he devoted himself earnestly to the study of theology, and especially of the New Testament. But this did not deter him

Das sibenhabtig Pabstier Offenbarung Johannis Tesselont. 2. Cap.



Schawen das sibenhabtigste
Gang eben der gestalt vñ maniere
Wie Johannes gesehen hat
Ein tier aus des meres gestalt
Das hat sibenhabtig gezeigt
Iben wie diß pabstier gelaube
Die waren all gefeindt bedewt
Die blauen des geistlichen lewte
Das thier das hat auch zehen hornen
Dür die geistlich gewalt vñ rumoren
Das thier trüg Gottes ißterung

Bedeutet verführerische jung
Das thier was ain pabstiel geleich
Bedeutet des pabst mordische rath
Das auch bemeidet durch treannet
Alles was im entgegen sey
Auch so hat das thier peen süß
Dür das das Euangelist süß
Ist von dem bapstum vnderrethen
Verfchert/verdeckt vñ vernehen
Das thier hat auch aus löwen mund
Bedeutet des bapstum weizen schlund

Dem doch gar nie erfüllen thieren
Opfer/pallium noch annacten
Dann/oppfer peche, stift zu Gottesdienst
Land vñ leut Runicreichent vñ ynst
Das es alles hat in sich verschlunden
Das thier entpfeng ain tödlich wunden
Dür das Doctor Martin hat geschriben
Das bapstum tödlich wund gebieben
Auch dem orten des Heren mund
Gott geb das es gar gee zu grund
Amen.

FIG. 63. Facsimile of a broadside against indulgences. Similar publications, in part colored, were very common in the period of the Reformation.

from following with keen interest the affairs of his native land, nor from joining his fellow-countrymen in their expeditions to Italy. Nothing grieved him more than the intrigues by which foreigners, and the French

especially, tried to win over the Swiss by corruption. His first pamphlets were directed against mercenary enlistments in the French service. For this he was obliged, by the French party in Glarus, to leave his parish there, but in 1518 he was invited to become pastor in one of the largest and richest, but most corrupt cities of Switzerland, Zurich.

Before coming to Zurich, Zwingli had already urged several ecclesiastical dignitaries, such as the Bishop of Constance and the papal legate, Pucci, to allow the word of God to be preached freely for the edification of mankind and the removal of abuses in the church.

In Zurich, he based his preaching exclusively on the Bible, though he had not yet definitely joined the Reformation. The trade in indulgences did not bring him to a definite decision (Fig. 63). The Dominican, Bernard Samson, was in charge of it in Switzerland, but as the pope needed the Swiss troops, his agent had to act much more carefully than in Germany; when Zurich showed itself hostile to the sale, the pope at once discharged Samson, greatly to Zwingli's satisfaction. The latter's progress toward the Reformation was brought about by his own study of the Bible, by reading Luther's writings, and by his growing conviction of the power of human reason to judge freely. He attacked unsparingly the mendicant orders, and the doctrines which the Church Fathers and scholastics had taught concerning the Scriptures. Besides this, as a true patriot, he carried on unceasing war against foreign military service, and foreign "morals," as well as against the armed assistance given to the pope. The terrible losses suffered by the Swiss infantry in 1515 and 1522, increased the influence of Zwingli, who had been a consistent and zealous opponent of foreign mercenary service, and made the Confederates incline more favorably to his proposals. The first decisive step taken by Zwingli, together with ten other priests, was a petition to the Bishop of Constance, that priests be allowed to marry (1522). Naturally, it was not granted. Soon afterward he published his *Apologeticus Architectes*, in which he fully subordinated the authority of the church to that of the Bible. Adrian VI. tried, by a special flattering message, to retain in the old communion the influential preacher of the Swiss capital, but in vain. The Catholics next tried public disputations; but in the first of these, Zwingli converted his antagonist, and in the second he proved more than a match for the vicar-general himself, Dr. Johann Faber. In consequence of these successes, he won the council and people of Zurich wholly to the reform, and came to a clearer understanding himself. The sixty-seven Articles, which he brought forward at his second disputation, contain already his entire declaration of faith. Inferior to Luther in profound spiritual experience, he surpasses him in critical insight and in

consistency. Whilst Luther laid aside only what the Bible directly condemned, Zwingli accepted only what was directly based on the Bible. For Zwingli Christ is the only way to salvation; whatever goes outside of Christ's doctrine is deception and error. Whoever follows the doctrine of Christ belongs to the church. The church is the Communion of the Saints—the definition that Wycliffe had already used. All church distinctions and splendors must, therefore, fall to the ground; there can be no supreme pontiff on earth, since Christ is the only High Priest and Mediator between God and man. Christ's teaching recognizes secular authority alone, not ecclesiastical; the former alone, therefore, is to be obeyed, in so far as it commands nothing contrary to God's word. God alone, through Christ, can forgive sins; hence, confession must be abolished. Zwingli brought into much more prominence than Luther the sinner's own share in his salvation; for him redemption was principally the overcoming of sin by man, with God's help; according to Luther, God worked effectually alone.

These, in brief, are the leading doctrines of Zwingli. They form a well-proportioned and consistent system. The Swiss reformer assigned to the free choice of man much greater importance than did the German, and was consequently much more tolerant. In his sixty-fifth article Zwingli says, "As for those who will not come to the truth God will judge them. No man, therefore, should do them violence." Zwingli was thus the first theologian who taught practical liberty of conscience.

The Zwinglian Articles, with a few clauses added in a third disputation, became the rule of conduct for Zurich: bishops, mass, and image-worship were abolished; Zwingli's clerical friends married, and at length he himself took for wife Anna Reinhart, widow of a citizen of Zurich. The state thus broke openly with the church, and drew upon itself the bitter hostility not only of the Swiss bishops generally, but also of the five Forest Cantons—Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, and Zug—which were zealous adherents of the old faith. On the other hand, Zwingli's teaching penetrated the cantons of Thurgau, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen, and the allied territories of St. Gall and the Grisons, and even Strasburg. It came in gently, with a winning moderation. The Swiss reformer sought to establish his influence by founding good schools and by educating the people, and he succeeded.

Zurich might ultimately have been forced to succumb to the ever-increasing wrath of the five orthodox cantons, had it not been for Bern. This canton was decisively won over by the Zurich reformers in a great disputation in January, 1528, in which Zwingli and his friends carried everything before them. Images and masses were abolished, and Bern

formed with Zurich and the imperial city of Constance an evangelical alliance, which was to ensure the safety of the Reformation.

Zwingli contemplated overthrowing the opposition of the orthodox cantons by a great political reform that should give to the populous city cantons the preponderance to which they were entitled by their superior intelligence and larger numbers. This angered the orthodox cantons still more, and in January, 1529, they formed a league "for the Protection of the Faith," and allied themselves to the hereditary foe of Switzerland, Austria. Hostilities broke out first in Aargau, where Zurich had been carrying on the Reformation with a high hand; but the Confederates were reluctant to shed each other's blood, and the neutral cantons brought about the first Peace of Cappel, which was so far favorable to Zurich, that it enjoined the orthodox Forest Cantons to dissolve their alliance with Austria (June, 1529). It was a victory for the Reformation and for Zurich, but Zurich speedily abused it. Whilst forcing upon their subjects the reformed faith—in violation of Zwingli's own principles—they summoned the five cantons to permit in their territory the free preaching of the Gospel, a most unwarranted request, considering that the people of the five cantons were unanimous in their adherence to the old faith.

Thus in Switzerland as in Germany, division and discord followed the Reformation. And besides this, Zwingli had the sorrow to clash with Luther on the question of the Eucharist. Luther had already had a sharp conflict concerning this matter with Karlstadt, who had explained it simply as a token of remembrance, thereby greatly offending Luther; for the latter, always disposed to go back to the letter of the Bible, and, as a consequence, obliged to accept mystic interpretations, understood the words "this is my body" to prove that in some miraculous way the body and blood of Christ were actually present in the bread and wine of the Eucharist. Zwingli was too clear-headed and too averse to all mysticism to agree with any such opinion. He and his friends, Oecolampadius in Basel, Capito and Bucer in Strasburg, agreed with Karlstadt that the Greek word "is" means in this case "symbolizes;" that bread and wine are simply symbolical of the body and blood of Christ. This interpretation excited Luther's indignation, for it seemed to him to destroy the whole foundation of his doctrine—the clear literal statement of the Bible. After sending out some of his disciples against the Swiss, he himself published (end of 1526) his "Sermon on the Body and Blood of Christ, against Visionaries." In this he assumed his views to be absolute truths, and in his own energetic way called his opponents heretics, fanatics, servants of the devil, and enemies of God.

Zwingli could not well forbear answering so coarse an accusation, but did it without hurry and with considerable calmness. In a private letter he endeavored to persuade Luther that both sides would do wisely to keep silence on so troublous a point. Luther saw in this reserve only a confession of defeat, and in a new pamphlet attacked the "Sacrament Contemners" so fiercely that even Melanchthon was displeased at his violence. Zwingli replied in a calm manner, accusing Luther of popish views, which, on account of its very self-possession, exasperated the great reformer still more. The Lutherans had, besides, the vexation to see Strasburg, Ulm and other imperial cities of Southwestern Germany, as well as many influential princes, including even Philip of Hesse, openly take sides with Zwingli in the matter of the Lord's Supper. Unfortunately Melanchthon, although at heart not very averse to the doctrines of Zwingli and Oecolampadius, was personally ill-disposed toward them. Both sides carried on the contest in most bitter polemical pamphlets, thus creating a dangerous schism among the reformers. It remained to be seen whether it could be healed, whether the spokesmen of the two parties would be self-sacrificing enough to consent to an external agreement, in order to be better able to resist the common foe. This was evidently the only way to a final victory over the old church.

Landgrave Philip saw clearly the danger, and endeavored to effect a reconciliation between the theologians by inviting them to a conference at his castle of Marburg. They came, Luther and Melanchthon quite reluctantly. But Luther's obstinacy precluded all agreement; when the Swiss asked to be considered as brethren, he repelled them with scorn. They easily agreed on the fifteen articles in which Luther's teaching was the same as Zwingli's, but concerning the Eucharist Luther and Melanchthon absolutely refused to make the least concession. Melanchthon was impelled to this by the fear that union with the Swiss, whom the majority in the diet hated bitterly, would bar the way to all reconciliation with the emperor. The Marburg conference had shown that the question of the Eucharist alone separated the two Protestant parties, but that this single point, through Luther's fault, had put an impassable barrier between them. Zwingli now conceived the hope of being able to realize his religious and political plans on a vast scale; not religion alone but an intimate political bond also was to make Switzerland and the cities of Upper Germany one. In furtherance of this, in the year 1529, Zurich and Bern formed a new alliance with Strasburg, Mühlhausen and Constance, and, in 1530, a more general one with Philip of Hesse. The Reformation was introduced very generally in Switzerland.

With unjustifiable violence Zwingli and the people of Zurich now

joined the non-Catholic subjects of the Abbot of St. Gall in driving their master out of his possessions, set up a democratic government and proceeded to introduce the Reformation (1530). Glarus alone sided with Zurich in this action. The other Protestant states, Bern at their head, loudly denounced this act of hostility against a confederate. Justly incensed at this lawless proceeding, the five Catholic cantons came together to provide for their safety. Had Zurich waited to be attacked, it would undoubtedly have received assistance from the other reformed cantons. But it chose to assume the offensive. By the so-called "Food Blockade," Zurich deprived (May, 1531) of food the five cantons whose barren mountains could not produce enough. Zwingli expressed himself clearly: "peace could not be secured, till the five cantons were humbled and deprived of their leading position in the Confederacy." When the five cantons, tired of continuous attacks, threatened to march on Zurich if the Abbot of St. Gall was not recalled and the food blockade raised, distrust, resulting from a consciousness of the injustice of their cause, took possession of the majority of the men of Zurich. Only 2000 of them marched out to encounter 8000 confederates. Near the frontier of the canton at Cappel this handful was easily routed by the fierce mountaineers and a large number of them were slain (October 11, 1531). Zwingli himself, who had chosen to share the peril with his flock, found a heroic death, and thus nobly expiated his excess of political zeal.

It seemed as if the war between the reforming party and the Catholic party in Switzerland must go on to the bitter end; for the allies of Zurich collected an army of 25,000 men, outnumbering their foe three to one. But with Zwingli the guiding genius of the reformed forces had fallen, and the city soldiery of Zurich and Bern by no means exhibited the same warlike courage as the hunters and peasants of the original Forest Cantons. Zurich finally concluded a peace at Cappel (November, 1531), with the five cantons. This time it was Zurich that must give up its alliances; she had also to pay the cost of both wars; in other respects, the conditions of the first Peace of Cappel were reaffirmed.

The worst results of the campaign appeared subsequently. In Zurich a reaction against the control of the Zwinglian party set in; the Zwinglians lost offices and influence; nevertheless, the old faith was not restored. But in Canton Glarus and several other places, Catholicism was restored. Though the second Cappel war had lasted only six weeks, its effects were permanent and fundamental: the new doctrines were effectually checked in their triumphant progress; the five Forest Cantons, which at one time had seemed ready to succumb before the superior culture, wealth and population of the city cantons, had again

assumed controlling influence in the general body. In Germany also the spread of the Zwinglian doctrines was checked; Landgrave Philip went back to Lutheranism.

Meanwhile, Lutheranism had taken root and was spreading rapidly among kinsmen of the Germans, the Scandinavians. No sharper contrast can be thought of than that between the Swiss and the Scandinavian reformation. In the north it was the monarchical powers that, for purely interested ends, borrowed the Reformation from Germany and imposed it upon their subjects.

The Union which Queen Margaret had brought about between the three northern kingdoms, in 1397, had not succeeded in really binding the peoples together. Each of the three was powerful enough not to need the aid of the other two, and each had traditions of independence. Sweden, angry because Denmark, as the residing place of the king, had become the leading power in the Union, rebelled every other year against the Union, only to return to it, not so much from outer pressure as in consequence of the quarrels of parties at home.

In the year 1448, a new dynasty ascended the Danish throne in the person of the Count of Oldenburg, crowned as Christian I. He soon afterward inherited Schleswig-Holstein. Favored by the condition of affairs in Sweden and Norway, he succeeded in restoring the Union, but only temporarily, for Swedish national pride soon rebelled against Danish supremacy, and the bloody defeat which the Swedish administrator, Sten Sture, inflicted on Christian I., in 1471, again put an end to Danish rule. Christian's successor, King Hans, tried to restore the old Union, but was severely defeated at Hemmingstedt Heath (1501), and Sweden again won her independence.

In the year 1513, Christian II. (born 1481) succeeded his father Hans. He was a prince of brilliant intellect and enterprising spirit, and an able warrior, but arrogant, cruel, and fiery tempered. Though married in 1525 to Isabella, sister of Emperor Charles V., he was completely under the control of his mistress, a Dutch woman named D  veke, and her shrewd mother, Sigbrit Willems. As long as the noble and beautiful D  veke lived, everything went well, but after her death by poison, the king's mood became darkened, and he endeavored to make himself the absolute master of his kingdom. He first turned his attention to Sweden, where conditions favored his designs. The Swedish administrator, Sten Sture the younger, had completely fallen out with the powerful Archbishop of Upsala, who with his adherents among the nobility, joined the Danish party. To assist him, Christian II. himself appeared before Stockholm (1518), but had to withdraw without accomplishing

anything. This only intensified his desire for vengeance on the hated Swedes. Finally, Sten Sture, who had been placed under the ban by Leo X., was fatally wounded by a cannon ball, and the nobility and cities of Sweden no longer resisted. In September, 1520, an agreement was signed between them and Christian II., which renewed the Union. Thus again made master of the united north, Christian now thought it time to carry out his purpose—the destruction of the power of the nobility and the higher clergy. He meant to rely for success on the burghers and peasants—the non-free class, as they were called. For the most part, the peasants were serfs bound to service, without property of their own, and salable like cattle. But these serfs had not forgotten their former liberties; they were not yet debased and enslaved. It would then have been a praiseworthy and promising enterprise to break down, with the aid of these lower classes, the power of secular and spiritual lords for the common interest of crown and people. Unfortunately, the means which the king used were wholly wrong.

Against the clergy he threatened to resort to Lutheranism, then already known outside of Germany; not at all from conviction, but because Lutheranism would destroy the hierarchy. Against the nobles he determined to use violence, though covering it with a pretence of legal formality. To deprive them of their most prominent members would prevent them henceforth from dictating the law to the kingdom. Here, again, a beginning must be made with Sweden.

In October, 1520, therefore, Christian appeared a second time in Stockholm, where the Swedes at once acknowledged him as hereditary king. To celebrate this event and the coronation which followed, he gave a great banquet, to which he invited the flower of the Swedish nobility. As soon as these guests came, they were cast into prison as heretics, on the ground of Leo X.'s bull and complaint of the Archbishop of Upsala. It need scarcely be said that the king's judges condemned them to death; ninety-four nobles and burghers, the foremost men in the land, were beheaded and then burned. This is the so-called Massacre of Stockholm, of November 8, 1520. A spirit of madness seemed to possess the king, who on his return to Denmark through the southern provinces of Sweden, caused six hundred of the richest and most respected inhabitants to be put to death without trial or justice.

With a cowardly and debased people these atrocities might have secured the desired end and spread everywhere terror and unresisting submission. But the Swedes were too sound at the core not to be driven by such acts into passionate opposition to Christian. Danish rule had henceforth become impossible in Sweden.

Christian continued to manifest a revolting duplicity. On returning from Stockholm he wrote to the Elector of Saxony begging him to send a Lutheran theologian to introduce the Reformation in his dominions. In consequence Master Martin Reinhard went to Copenhagen, where, however, he met with slender success. The Danes were by no means ready to receive the new doctrines.

Nothing now could save Christian from the consequences of his misdeeds and his political blunders. Sweden was up in arms. Lübeck, always hostile to the Union of Kalmar, and further angered in having recently been deprived of certain commercial rights in Denmark, was making ready (1522) with the aid of the Hanseatic League, to declare war against the king. Christian's uncle, Duke Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein, was greatly embittered against him for having tried to induce the emperor to force him into a state of feudal vassalage to Denmark, and he joined the Lübeckers. Thus Christian's plan to win over the burghers and the peasants came to nothing; and his attempt to introduce comprehensive changes in secular and ecclesiastical matters was frustrated by the rising in Sweden, and had only resulted in irritating the clergy and nobility.

In these critical circumstances, all the enemies of Christian II. were elated at the success of the Lübeck fleet that conquered Bornholm, devastated the Danish coasts, and besieged Copenhagen itself, though to no purpose; at the same time the Swedes were overrunning the Danish mainland provinces of Halland and Blekingen. The nobility and clergy of Jutland were the next to revolt. They renounced their allegiance to Christian II. because of his numerous violations of human and divine laws, and elected Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein as their king. Frederick, with the Lübeckers as allies, appeared with his army in Jutland (spring, 1523). Christian was still powerful enough to resist, and could rely on the loyalty of the Finnish and Icelandic peasants. But, as is often the case with violent and passionate natures, he lost, in the midst of the gathering storm about him, both courage and presence of mind. On April 16, 1523, he left his capital and his realm, and fled to the Netherlands. Till the following year Frederick I. was left to establish his claims over Denmark and Norway. This was an event of the greatest importance for the whole of Scandinavia. The new king was no less cunning and ambitious than his nephew Christian, but he was fond of peace, and accepted the inevitable consequences of the political situation. Seeing that he could make his position secure only by some sacrifices, he practically gave up the Union of Kalmar by acknowledging the independence of Sweden. The Norwegians, who really preferred Christian

II., Frederick bound to himself by acknowledging their right of electing a king. It goes without saying that the nobility, who had brought about the revolution, profited most by it: they secured exclusively the highest dignities in the church, as well as the right of penal justice over their peasant subjects, thus sealing the servitude of the latter. Finally, all fiefs that had fallen to the crown by default were to be redistributed among the nobles.

The clergy reaped least profit from a movement to which they had very largely contributed. It is true, that in his "election agreement" (*Handfeste*) at Viborg Frederick had promised not to introduce the Reformation into his dominions; but he made no opposition to its progress, and, indeed, secretly encouraged it. As early as 1525 his duchies of Schleswig and Holstein had become Lutheran, and he himself, next year, declared his adherence to the new doctrine. His court became a centre for Lutheran theologians. The diet at Odense (1527) allowed the clergy to marry, and granted equal rights to the adherents of the old and of the new faith until the convening of a general council—quite after the pattern set by the recent German diet of Spire. By declaring the Catholic doctrine no longer the exclusively valid one, by sundering the tie with Rome, and by clearly showing how the leading influences of the state inclined, the diet of Odense settled the victory of Lutheranism. Cloisters became empty, part of the inmates leaving the country, part marrying and settling down. Some bishops endeavored to resist forcibly the decree of the diet, but in vain. By abandoning the larger part of the vacant sees to the nobles the king won them and their subjects to the side of the Reformation. In 1530 Hans Taufen formulated in 43 articles the creed of the Danish Evangelical Church. By this act the king excited the bitterest dissatisfaction among the majority of the Danish clergy, and likewise among the Norwegian priests, who still possessed undisputed sway over the hearts of their people. Christian II., who had been making constant efforts to win back his realm, resolved in 1530 to avail himself of this state of things by becoming reconciled with the pope, and by entering into an agreement with the disaffected bishops in Denmark. Under these circumstances, Frederick deemed it wisest to resort once more to the assistance of the powerful city of Lübeck.

The Reformation, which had at an early day won Hamburg and Bremen, had a much harder struggle to establish itself in Lübeck. As late as 1528 the aristocratic and conservative council, in common with the bishop, continued to persecute the "Martinites," as the Lutherans were derisively called. But this did not prevent the rapid spread of the new doctrines among the versatile population of the great commer-

cial city. It simply forced the religious movement to assume a political aspect. When in 1529 the council, in a financial strait, turned to the commons for money, these imposed a condition that a committee of their own should sit with the council, and also that the preaching of the Gospel should be freely allowed. Then followed a diminution of the clergy's privileges, the giving of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, baptism in the German tongue, and the abolition of the mass. By the issuing of "The Christian Church Ordinance for the City of Lübeck" the work of the Reformation was definitely completed. This victory of the new faith settled Lübeck's position by the side of Frederick against Catholic Christian II. The reform movement in Lübeck had been accompanied by a strong democratic movement which resulted in 1530 in placing at the head of the government the humble but enterprising Jürgen Wullenwever.

In October, 1531, Christian II. sailed from Holland with 7000 men to restore in Denmark and Norway both his own authority and the old faith. He landed on the Norwegian coast, and thanks to the co-operation of both peasantry and clergy, he subdued the country with scarcely any resistance. This success of his rival urged Frederick to new efforts to secure the aid of the German Protestants. Lübeck sent him at once a few ships, and as he had granted the Hanse a monopoly of trade in his realms, this powerful league sent a considerable fleet to relieve the fortresses of Norway that still held for Frederick. The German Protestants, who had just received Frederick into their League of Smalcald, hastened to assist him against Christian II.

This formidable combination stopped Christian's progress. He could not carry the Norwegian strongholds, and his supplies were beginning to fail. He declared himself ready for an armistice, and availed himself of a safe conduct to visit his uncle, in order to discuss with him the possibility of putting an end to their quarrel. But the treachery that he had so often practiced against others was now dealt out to him. His safe-conduct was violated, and Christian was imprisoned in the castle of Sonderburg (July, 1532), where he spent twenty-seven years before death set him free.

Norway submitted to Frederick, and was punished by the loss of its independence and by being made an inseparable part of the Danish monarchy. The Lübeckers also reaped some advantage from the common treachery. Their rivals, the Dutch, were excluded from all commerce with Denmark and Norway, and from the passage through the Sound, because they had supported Christian.

Frederick I. died long before his captive nephew in April, 1533.

Dissensions arose at once between his older son, Christian, who favored Lutheranism, and his younger, John, who favored Catholicism. On the whole the Catholic party had the advantage in the Danish legislature, which had been intrusted with the interregnum, and, as a consequence, Lübeck was treated coldly. The Hanseatic city was especially hateful to the nobles of Danish Holstein on account of its power and wealth. The Lübeckers were indignant, and Jürgen Wullenwever, the chief magistrate of Lübeck, conceived the bold plan of profiting by the confusion in Danish affairs, to humble Denmark before the Hanse. He entered into secret negotiations with a large number of Danish burghers, who wished to rid themselves of the ever-increasing oppression of the nobility. Under the banner of Christian II., Lübeck's recent enemy, he sent out in the spring of 1534 against Denmark a fleet, commanded by Count Christopher of Oldenburg. All over Zealand, even in Copenhagen itself, in Fünen and the smaller islands, as well as in Schonen, peasants and burghers rose up against the hated nobles, and declared themselves for Lübeck and Christian II. Jutland alone remained loyal to Frederick's offspring. In all Hanseatic towns the democratic element seized the power and prepared itself to assist Lübeck. But in the midst of her triumphs, Lübeck fell.

The elder of Frederick's sons, Duke Christian, summoned the nobles of Jutland to join him in an attack on Lübeck. He could not take the city, but succeeded in making sure of Jutland, in being acknowledged as king of Norway, and in securing a new foothold on the Danish islands. His brother John was thus pushed aside, and the Reformation assured in Denmark and Norway. In the war that still went on—the so-called "Feuds of the Counts" (*Grafenfehde*)—the question at stake was really simply whether the Reformation should rest on aristocratic or democratic principles. The victory won by Count Rantzau, the royal commander, at Assens in Fünen over the army of the towns, June, 1537, and the success of the Danish fleet over the Hanseatic determined the overthrow of the democracy. Wullenwever lost his influence as the citizens lost heart. He had to resign, the old council and the old constitution were restored, only Lutheranism remained. The hate of Wullenwever's enemies succeeded in securing, on false charges, first his confinement, and, finally, in 1537, his execution. He was an extraordinarily gifted man, but neither the hero nor the genius that subsequent generations have often thought him. After this downfall, Lübeck and the whole Hanseatic League gradually lost influence in the north, and were one after another deprived of their commercial privileges. This was accelerated by the changed relations in the commercial world; trade turned more to the Atlantic

ocean, leaving Germany aside. Thus ended the power and prosperity of a once flourishing league of cities.

Christian III. was acknowledged as king all over Denmark and Norway. He concluded peace with Lübeck, and Scandinavia enjoyed rest at last. The Catholic party, which had taken sides with Christian II. and afterward with John I., had to submit to the Copenhagen Decree (1536), which said the secular members of the council must be Lutherans, transferred the property of convents and archbishoprics to the crown, and ordered the bishops imprisoned as traitors. The wealth thus secured served to pay debts incurred in the war. Christian III. had Bugenhagen, Luther's trusted friend, plan a church ordinance, which was introduced into Denmark and Norway, thus completing the victory of the Lutheran faith in both kingdoms (September, 1537).

Still, it took considerable time for Lutheranism to make its way into the ultra-conservative peasant districts of Norway. In the western dioceses Catholicism held its own during the whole reign of Christian III., who, however, by skill and perseverance, opposed it peacefully, and gradually drove it back.

In Iceland, on the contrary, there was more violence. Gissur Einarson, Bishop of Skalholt, was the first to introduce Lutheranism. But the Catholic people of the island, headed by the clergy, rose in unanimous opposition to the new doctrines, threw off the authority of the king, and cast the Lutheran preachers into prison. It was only after several years (1551) that a Danish fleet reduced the rebels to submission, and forced the Reformation upon the people. It may then be truly said that Denmark received the new faith gladly, but Norway and Iceland accepted it against their will. Evidently religious freedom was no more thought of by the new party than by the old.

As a whole, Christian III. had successfully carried out his projects of reformation, when he died, in 1559. But much harder and more full of vicissitudes were the struggles that the new doctrine had to endure in Sweden, though here also favored by those highest in authority.

Sweden owed her liberation from the terrible yoke imposed upon her by Christian II. mainly to a noble youth, Gustavus Ericson, of the house of Vasa (Fig. 64). Born in 1496, Gustavus, under a modest, trustful manner concealed all the subtlety and intense passionateness of the Swedish character; it must be said, however, that these qualities were always directed toward good ends. In 1518 he had been taken to Denmark as a hostage, but had succeeded the next year in making his escape to Lübeck. Thence he returned to his home, where for months he wan-

dered in disguise, pursued by his enemies. It was then that he learned that his father had fallen a victim in the famous Massacre, and his mother and sisters had been taken to a Danish prison. His awful grief and the necessities of his country filled him with the implacable determi-



FIG. 61. Gustavus Vasa.

nation to put an end to Danish tyranny. In constant peril of death, he betook himself to a rough mountain region and induced its bold peasants and miners, called "Dalecarlians" or "vale people," to rise against the cruel "Jutes." Repeated defeats of the Danes in the dale country (*Daleli*)

inspired a large number of Swedes with courage to rise, so that by the middle of 1521, Gustavus began the siege of Stockholm, which lasted two whole years. The Swedish war of liberation was distinguished not so much by brilliant exploits, as by the inexhaustible patience and heroic endurance exhibited by Gustavus and the Swedish people. It was greatly to their advantage that Christian II. was too busy elsewhere to be able to oppose them. On June 7, 1523, Gustavus Vasa was elected king of Sweden, over which his descendants ruled for nearly three centuries. This put a final end to the Union of Kalmar, which had existed for one hundred and twenty-six years.

But it was a tottering and insecure throne that Gustavus I. had ascended. During the long troubles of the Union, the great nobles of the southern provinces had made themselves practically independent, and in the northern parts of the country, where there were no powerful nobles, complete anarchy prevailed among the peasantry. Accustomed to insecurity of life and property, the countrymen would on the slightest pretext resort to arms, kill the king's officials, and sometimes appoint an administrator of their own. The church, rich and possessed of broad domains, was in close union with the aristocracy, and was, in fact, one of the main obstacles in the way of a strong royal power.

Personally, Gustavus was inclined toward the Reformation, though by no means enthusiastically, and he resolved to make use of it and of the people's dislike for the rich and greedy bishops to overthrow the power of the church in his realm, and to possess himself of its wealth. From the very first he favored Olaus Petri, the earliest apostle of Lutheranism in Sweden, imposed heavy burdens on the church, and punished rebellious bishops with death, without respect for their priestly office. In 1525, by decision of the magistracy, the Latin mass was abolished in Stockholm, and the New Testament was published in the Swedish tongue by command of the king. The estates of cloisters and bishoprics were sequestrated, monks and nuns liberated from their vows, and excommunications declared ineffectual.

Yet the larger part of the Swedish people, in spite of their dislike for the bishops, still clung to the old faith. Numerous risings occurred, especially among the Dalecarlians, caused by religious innovations and by burdensome taxation. Gustavus resolved not to let himself be dismayed, and at the diet of Westerås (1527) presented sharp complaints against the prelacy, and demanded the confiscation of church property on behalf of the crown and the putting down of abuses in the Church, especially of popish encroachments. When the nobles as well as the bishops positively refused to grant this, Gustavus laid down his crown.

The liberator of Sweden was still greatly beloved ; it was feared also that with his abdication monarchy would return ; so, as Gustavus had foreseen, the diet granted his requests in order to get him to resume the government. He thereby obtained full control over the church property and a decree that allowed the clergy to preach the pure word of God, "but not uncertain miracles, inventions of men and fables, as had often before occurred."

The diet of Westerås did for Sweden what the diet of Odense, held on the same year, had done for Denmark and Norway ; it gave the Reformation a firm foothold, though it did not yet have the majority of the people on its side.

But Gustavus had lost much of the affection of his people by his innovations in religion. The severe chastisement inflicted on the Dalecarlians for their late insurrection was not effectual, for in 1531 they rose again with the bishops and nobles to try to restore Christian II., who had just landed in Norway. Gustavus sent aid to Frederick I., and, after the overthrow of Christian, marched with all his forces against the Dalecarlians, annulled their special privileges and imprisoned or executed all the leaders of the uprising, thus breaking up finally the opposition of the vale people. Thenceforth the Reformation proceeded more rapidly. The first Protestant bishops were installed, and a friend of Melancthon, George Neumann, was ordained as superintendent of the clergy of the realm. What appeared most clearly in all this was the king's determination to turn the Reformation to his own advantage. He made use of the visitations in single districts to possess himself of what was still left of the church silver. He did not scruple to represent himself as the head of the Swedish Church. All who wished to hold fast to the faith of their fathers he threatened with the penalties of high treason, for in religious things, no less than in secular, the will of the king must be obeyed.

The positive and selfish measures of the king drove the orthodox in Southern Sweden into a general uprising, which was ably led by Nils Dacke, a peasant under sentence of death for murder (1542). A sort of guerilla warfare, in which the Lutheran clergymen, royal officials and the principal adherents of the king were murdered, put the whole of Southern Sweden, even up to the walls of Stockholm, in the hands of the rebels. Nils Dacke entered into relations with the exiled adherents of Christian II., and even with Emperor Charles V. There were moments during that fearful rebellion, when Gustavus despaired of his crown and his realm. At length, with the help of the militia of the northern provinces, the uprising was put down, and Dacke disappeared in some mys-

terious manner. This rebellion against Gustavus, which was the most dangerous, was also the last. The king had broken up the independence of the church and of the peasants; he could now turn against his former allies, the nobles. At the diet of Westerås he had, to secure their good will, granted them a share in the confiscated wealth of the church; he now expressly forbade the arbitrary seizure by the nobles of any church estate. The king's most earnest wish was to render the crown independent of the aristocracy by making it hereditary instead of elective. This he succeeded in doing after Dacke's overthrow. At a new diet in Westerås (1544) all of the estates—clergy, nobles, burghers and peasants—consented to the change which made Sweden a hereditary monarchy.

Gustavus put the ten years of peace that followed to good use in promoting the further aggrandizement of the royal power and the welfare of the country. He laid the foundation of that royal absolutism which, developed in the seventeenth century, reached its culminating point in Charles XII. Having possessed itself of all the property of the church, the crown now provided liberally for the payment of the clergy. In general, Gustavus dealt gently with the orthodox clergy, removing only a few, and contenting himself with giving them Lutheran coadjutors. All common lands, fishery rights, all waste lands, were declared crown property; they were granted by the king to private parties on the payment of a moderate fee.

In the midst of these efforts to secure absolute power, the king took pains not to lose his good understanding with his subjects. He had frequent intercourse with them, and laid before them accounts of the public expenditures and of his political transactions, but not always with a strict regard for the absolute truth. By this means Gustavus adroitly succeeded in attaching the people still more closely to himself. It is true, also, that he employed his power for the people's best interest. He was extremely industrious, economical, and wise as an administrator. Taxes were proportioned to property; before him they had been imposed by poll. Agriculture improved so greatly that Sweden had a surplus of cereals for export. His reign opened a new epoch for mining and metallurgy, in which the king took a special interest. He promoted commerce and navigation by unscrupulously violating his promises of monopoly to the Hanse, and allowing his subjects to go to Western Europe and import thence colonial goods directly into Sweden. Commercial treaties with other nations insured safety for these transactions. He kept up a permanent army of 15,000 men, a considerable force for those times, as well as a strong fleet quite able to cope with either that of Denmark or Lübeck. No wonder then that for a long time after-

ward the second half of his reign should have seemed to the Swedes an epoch of peaceful and enviable prosperity.

A war with Russia disturbed this quiet. Gustavus had bestowed special care on the distant province of Finland. He had given it laws; introduced the Reformation; caused the Bible and schoolbooks to be translated into the Finnish tongue. In 1554 a quarrel arose with Russia about the northernmost part of Finland bordering on Lapland. Gustavus assumed command of his army and fleet; although he did not exhibit any great talent as general, he succeeded in keeping back the Russians, and at the Peace of Moscow (1557) obtained reasonable terms for Sweden. This petty war was the prelude of those bitter struggles in which Sweden and Russia were for three centuries engaged for the mastery of the eastern half of the Baltic Sea and its shores. This prospect Gustavus with true statesmanlike foresight desiered, and it saddened his best days. In September, 1560, Gustavus I. died after a reign of nearly forty years; to-day he is revered as the father of his country. It had been his fortune to bring his native land out of internal confusion and external powerlessness into a firmly organized, independent state, and to change a poor people into a thriving nation. He was the founder of Sweden's greatness, that greatness which made her, in spite of her small population, the foremost power in the north, and gave her a place among the nations of Europe. But this bright picture of the condition of Scandinavia in the middle of the sixteenth century has also its shadows. It cannot be denied that the Reformation introduced by force against the will of the people worked at first very injuriously on morals and culture. The loudly proclaimed liberty of the spirit was often turned into lawlessness of the flesh. After the abolition of the vow of chastity the new clergy not infrequently set an evil example to their flocks. In Scandinavia, as in Germany, the doctrine that faith alone can save, and that it surely saves, led to the conclusion that to one having the true faith, it was immaterial whether he lived a moral or immoral life. The eagerness with which the crown and the nobles had made change of religion a pretext to plunder the church, tended to foster a purely material conception of the whole movement. Education suffered much in consequence of the sequestration by the crown of church property. These, however, were evils inseparably connected with a period of political and religious transition. The reigns of Christian III. and Gustavus I. really for the first time introduced the north into the sphere of European life.

In England, even more than in Scandinavia, the Reformation was

the work of the sovereigns. England early in the sixteenth century was altogether different from Great Britain to-day. There were as yet no signs of its present wonderful industrial activity. The mining on which her prosperity largely rests now, was then confined to exploiting the copper and lead of Cornwall. The cities, after twenty years of civil war, were rather decaying than growing. England did not then control the seas; her fleet was insignificant, and her merchant navy far inferior to the Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch. England was above all an agricultural state, and largely devoted to the raising of cattle and sheep. Her principal industry was woolen manufacture. The ruling class did not as now consist of merchants and manufacturers, but of land-owners great and small, lords and squires. Feudalism was still prevalent, and in the cities all industries and trades were gathered in close guilds and corporations. The population of the kingdom amounted to hardly more than four and a half millions, who contributed yearly, in taxes and dues, of all kinds, scarcely a million crowns to the government. The people were unenterprising and dull, but filled, nevertheless, with ridiculous pride and a hatred of foreigners. In the year 1485 a new dynasty, that of the Tudors, had ascended the English throne, which proceeded to rule more arbitrarily and tyrannically than its predecessors. Circumstances favored the exercise of their strong self-will and their tendency to absolutism. The higher nobility, which had heretofore energetically opposed all encroachments of the crown, had been greatly weakened by the terrible Wars of the Roses. The burgher class in the Lower House longed above all for rest and peace; and as the government through its officials exerted considerable influence on the choice of members of the Commons, it was pretty sure to find in this house a pliable majority.

The first Tudor, Henry VII. (1485-1509), made a wide use of these conditions. This tall, spare man, with a fine furrowed face, and thin blond hair, looking more like a high prelate than a knight, took good care not to disturb the forms of the old parliamentary constitution; that would have been too dangerous in a land where the House of York still counted numerous adherents. But he made himself independent of these forms by arbitrarily depriving the rich of a part of their wealth, by issuing royal ordinances with the authority of law, and, finally, by erecting a political tribunal, the Star Chamber, which, uttering its judgments without legal form or restraint, kept exclusively in view the will and interest of the king. The people submitted to all this patiently, for Henry gave them quiet and peace, and the Star Chamber, with inexorable severity, repressed the lawlessness of the nobility. The king also favored the burghers and tradesmen, and did not ask high subsidies from

his Parliament, since benevolences and fines kept his coffers full. He made foreign politics also serve his financial ends, by skilfully selling either peace or war to other European powers. For thirteen years he found it unnecessary to summon a parliament. Justice and government he rendered independent of popular currents and attached them exclusively to himself. This strengthening of a realm that had been so long the plaything of parties seemed more important to him than meddling in foreign politics. It was enough for him if he could take a firm position in Europe, by allying himself closely with the growing power of Spain. The youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, Catharine, was betrothed to the heir apparent of England, Arthur; and when he died, soon after, she was affianced to his brother, Henry.

This son, Henry, at the death of his father in 1509, succeeded his father, as Henry VIII., and soon married his brother's widow. According to the canon law this union was unlawful; but it was claimed, and apparently with some ground, that owing to Arthur's extreme youth the first marriage had never been consummated and was, therefore, invalid. Henry VIII. was a lusty and vigorous youth, of remarkable beauty, which, however, in later years, was marred by his corpulence. He was skilled in all knightly exercises and also well versed in classical lore, in law, and in theology. He had a very lofty idea of the power of the crown, and gave outward expression to it in brilliant festivals. The details of affairs he abandoned to a favorite of low origin, Thomas Wolsey (Fig. 177), who had been introduced to the royal court as almoner of one of his bishops. His keen perception, fine manners, and cheerfulness, soon secured to him the favor of Henry. For, though a butcher's son, Wolsey had the disposition of a king—great dignity, an enlightened taste for science, poetry and art, and an arrogant pride. He soon monopolized affairs, which, it must be conceded, he administered with unabating zeal and restless activity. As Archbishop of York, and especially as cardinal legate of the pope, he was at the head of the English Church. His master's favor had made him master of the English state. He knew this well—and his vanity had no limits. His good-will had to be bought with much gold. On the other hand, he encouraged the classical studies, which were making great progress at Oxford, and he used his princely revenues to found schools and erect magnificent edifices in the Renaissance style.

He flattered immoderately the king, who wished to carry on his father's work. Henry VIII. thought himself absolute master, and looked upon all opposition to his will as rebellion against God; he ascribed to himself unreserved authority over the consciences of his sub-



F. 2. 10.

FIG. 65.—Cardinal Wolsey. Engraving by J. Houbraken (1698-1780).

jects. The most eminent men of his realm were led to the scaffold under empty forms of justice, to satisfy his tyrannical whims. Still, the tyrant must beware of exciting the ill-will of the masses. They cared little for the wrongs of lords and ladies or the rich merchants of London. But when he made an overbold attempt upon the purse of the mass of taxpayers, such multitudes of armed men gathered together—as in 1525—that he had to yield at once. Still, in most circumstances, Henry VIII. was all-powerful. This appeared very plainly in the course followed by the English Reformation.

Although for nearly one hundred years there had been in England declared opposition to the papal power, and there were still a few followers of Wycliffe—Lollards, as they were called—yet the doctrines of Luther had not succeeded in winning over the majority of the people. The king had been foremost in his opposition to Lutheranism. His book, *Adversus Septem Sacramentorum*, published in 1521, defended the seven sacraments against Luther and won from the latter very insulting epithets, but from the pope the title of Defender of the Faith. Several adherents of the Reformation, nearly all from the humble classes, were burned at the stake. In 1525 the alliance between Henry VIII. and Charles V. came to an end, through Wolsey's fault. Queen Catharine of England, the emperor's aunt, henceforth worked to bring about the cardinal's fall. On the other hand, to avenge himself and to retain power, Wolsey did his best to persuade his master of the invalidity of his marriage with Catharine and to bring about Henry's union with a princess of France, that country being then England's ally. Henry fell in love with this plan the more readily, as he had only one child living to perpetuate his dynasty—and that a weakly girl, Mary. He ardently wished a male heir. Besides, he was tired of a wife six years his senior, and was just then greatly attracted by the bright wit, refined coquetry and youthful charms of Anne Boleyn.

Pope Clement VII., the ally of France and of England, was quite ready to declare Henry's marriage invalid, and sent Cardinal Campeggi to England, in 1528, to settle the affair as quickly and easily as possible. But as Catharine, with praiseworthy firmness, strenuously objected, and declared she would live and die as the lawful spouse of the king, recourse must be had to the slow process of canon law. Meanwhile the political situation had changed. Clement had, from necessity, become the emperor's ally. He accepted Catharine's appeal to Rome, recalled Campeggi, and let the matter drag to interminable length. This incensed Henry VIII., and when Wolsey tried to justify the pope, he fell a victim to the king's wrath, was deprived of his chancellorship, and ordered

to withdraw to his see of York. Henry's hatred threatened him with a trial for high treason. On his way to London for trial the great cardinal, so lately omnipotent, now a helpless prisoner, died November 28, 1530, in his seventieth year.

Henry determined to carry his divorce through himself, and to break with Rome. There was at first no question of doctrinal change either by king or people, but simply of separation from the papacy. The king succeeded, with the aid of his minister, Thomas Cromwell, and of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, in fully detaching the English clergy from the pope, and making the English Church independent, the king of England instead of the pope now being the head of the church (1532).

It is unnecessary to say that Henry VIII. married Anne Boleyn. Catharine died four years later. It was forbidden, under heavy penalties,

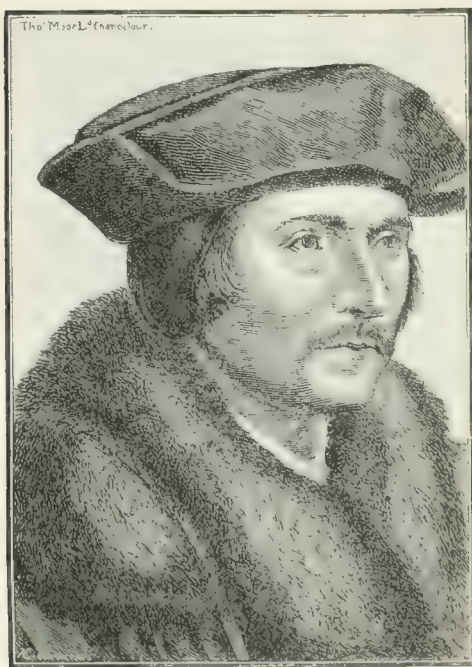


FIG. 66. Thomas More. Engraving by F. Bartolozzi (1728-1815) from the original drawing of Hans Holbein (1497-1543).

to appeal to Rome or to receive dispensations from her. Men who would not obey the king's command to give up the ancient authority of the Catholic Church—the noble chancellor, Thomas More (Fig. 66), and the learned Bishop Fisher, among others—were executed for high treason. By the confiscation of the lands of the monasteries the clergy lost much of its social and political importance. The bishops and abbots had hitherto formed a majority of the House of Lords; but when the abbots disappeared, the ecclesiastical members of the upper house were far outnumbered by the lay members.

Yet, in spite of these sweeping changes, Henry tried to hold firm to the dogmas of the church, being doubtless at one in this with the mass of his subjects, who, however strongly opposed to ultramontaniam, were devotedly attached to the faith of their fathers. Henry, a despot who was always considerate of the wishes of his people,

PLATE V.



Henry VIII., King of England.

From the large painting by Hans Holbein the younger (1497-1554), which represents the king bestowing upon the guild of surgeons and barbers in London their new statutes. Original painting in London. Reduced facsimile of a part of the engraving by B. Baron, 1736.

acted accordingly, and his passions were made to co-operate remarkably with the demands of his politico-religious situation. Anne Boleyn's trifling character could not long hold captive the fickle heart of the monarch; in 1536, soon after giving him a daughter, Elizabeth, she was executed on the charge of adultery. Three days afterward Henry married a new mistress, Jane Seymour, who, like Anne, inclined to Protestantism, and Cromwell, the "Hammer of the Monks," became for a while all powerful at court. Parliament declared Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate; the king's dearest wish was fulfilled by the birth of a male heir, Edward, in 1537, but it cost the mother her life. Her death was a severe loss for the Protestant party.

The rising in the northern provinces of England in favor of the Catholic faith (the so-called "Pilgrimage of Grace") decided the king to act more positively. In the year 1539 was proclaimed the statute of the Six Articles, which enjoined under the severest penalties the acceptance of the doctrine of the real presence, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession.

Cromwell tried to strengthen Protestantism by securing for Henry as a fourth wife the German Lutheran, Anne of Cleves; but this led to his ruin; Anne proved intolerable to the king, and Cromwell was arrested and executed (1540). A few days later Henry dismissed Anne, to marry a zealous Catholic, Catharine Howard, a member of the Norfolk family. With her the Catholics, under the lead of Bishop Gardiner, became again masters, and remained in power till Catharine's adulteries brought upon her the doom which Anne Boleyn had suffered.

Henry (PLATE V.) soon after took as his sixth wife a young widow, Catharine Parr, who tended him faithfully during the last years of his life.

Henry introduced prayers in the mother tongue instead of the Romish breviary, and was contemplating further innovations when, on February 28, 1547, he died, at the age of fifty-six. During the minority of his only son, Edward VI. (Fig. 67), now in his eleventh year, a regency, consisting mainly of Protestants and appointed by Henry, were to govern.

The English nation was then, as to religious matters, in a situation full of uncertainty, ferment, and danger. There was also among the lower classes profound dissatisfaction with the existing economic conditions, which had been revolutionized since the accession of the Tudors. In mediæval England the peasantry had largely owned field and meadow in common, and cultivated the land according to the primitive

three-field system. The ground was divided into innumerable strips, and had to be plowed and planted according to long-established custom. Fallow ground and other fields after the harvest had been gathered were used for common pasturing. This system was unquestionably very wasteful, and kept agriculture in a backward state. But from a social point of view it had the advantage of affording the small peasants a right of pasturage, which was of great importance for their prosperity. But since the fifteenth century the use of money, which began earlier in England than on the continent, had been undermining this system of common ownership of land. The larger proprietors withdrew from it in order to work their estates to better advantage by themselves; they protected the land by inclosures and hedges against inroads.



FIG. 67. Edward VI. as a child. Drawing by Hans Holbein the Younger. (In the Windsor Collection.)

The proprietors succeeded partly by purchase and partly by violence in continually enlarging their estates. The peasants were, to be sure, legally entitled to their common lands, but practically this was of little avail; for they had, in most instances, no written evidence of ownership, as possession for hundreds of years had seemed to render this superfluous. They could not afford, like their richer antagonists, to hire lawyers. The judges were the personal friends of the great lords or easily allowed themselves to be bribed or intimidated. The

result of all this was that the peasant was practically at the mercy of his landlord. After the suppression of the monasteries the new owners declared all former rights and guarantees of the peasants on the monastic estates abolished. These peasants were obliged, therefore, either to accept limited leases or to lose their property altogether.

It cannot be denied that from an economic point of view this revolution was necessary and beneficial. Land was more carefully cultivated; rotation of crops and pasturing was introduced into the enclosed land, and increased the productiveness of the soil. The yield of wool was greatly enlarged. Still, for the small free peasantry, for the yeomen, in whom lay the strength and sinew of England, the exchange was very injurious; multitudes of the bravest peasants, through no fault of theirs, were driven out with wives and children, and left on the road without resources. Districts that had supported in moderate comfort hundreds of busy men were turned into grazing districts for sheep. "The sheep," it was said, "drive out the men, pastures destroy villages and towns." It was estimated that under Henry VIII. 50,000 ploughs were withdrawn, each of which, on an average, had given support to six persons. All these unfortunates fell into a depth of destitution and wretchedness which their contemporaries find no terms dark enough to portray. The number of beggars and thieves increased terribly, necessitating new jails and new gallows.

Under Henry VIII. England sought to free herself from economic dependence on foreign lands, to develop national industry, national trade, and to introduce English products into other countries. Henry's reign accomplished in this direction permanent results: the Mediterranean shores and Portugal were opened to the English flag and to English wares. To protect this foreign commerce Henry created a fleet of fifty-three ships of war, with nearly 3000 cannon and 7800 sailors, a naval force that could not be defied without danger. English commerce made more progress than English handicraft, and as industry, in consequence of increased exportations, assumed more and more the character of "wholesale" dealings, the small handicraftsmen were gradually impoverished and ruined. And though a part of the country laborers, thrown out of employment as ploughmen, found occupation in industrial pursuits, the number of vagrants was soon again considerably increased from the ranks of the small handicraftsmen. In addition to all this, the suffering poor had their condition made even worse by the closing of the monasteries which had so often come to the relief of the destitute.

About the middle of the sixteenth century popular discontent reached its height, and among the country population became threatening. The

pamphlets of the time are full of it ; the foremost preachers refer to it with sympathy ; in the addresses to the king and court it was charged against the nobles that they drove the poor out of their homes like vermin. Fear was expressed that the country would be depopulated and left defenceless against its foes. It was under such threatening conditions that the reign of Henry VIII. closed. It was uncertain what direction the religious reformation would take in England in the midst of these social disturbances. Beyond question this Germanic land, like Germany, like Switzerland, like the kindred Scandinavian states, was shaken to its very foundations by the religious revolution.

CHAPTER V.

TRIUMPH OF CHARLES V. OVER FRANCIS I.

THOUGH sickly and suffering from the gout even in his youth, and consequently of a weak physique, Charles V. (Fig. 68) produced a lasting impression on European as well as German politics by his energy and activity. In spite of repeated agreements with the Protestants, he put his main reliance on his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans, and thereby kept fast his connection with the pope. On the other hand, he manifested constant distrust and hatred toward Francis I. and Henry VIII., the latter of whom had basely deserted him in 1525, and later had inflicted a lasting outrage on Charles's family by divorcing Catharine of Aragon. At the close of the year 1532, after the conclusion of the Religious Peace of Nuremberg and his campaign against the Turks, Charles could look upon his plans of a universal monarchy as feasible. Francis was defeated, Italy subjected, Würtemberg and Bohemia united to the Hapsburg hereditary states, and it did not seem impossible to win at least the larger part of Hungary back from the Turks. Charles looked upon the renewal of the ancient protectorate of the Roman, Saxon, and Franconian emperors over the church as the most important corner-stone of the whole edifice of his power. It was, therefore, one of his principal objects to bring together, in an imperial city and consequently under his influence, a general council which should realize the reforms which he saw the church needed, and thus take the ground from under the feet of the Lutherans. But Clement VII. and his court would not hear of a council at all, the one lest his power, the latter lest its income should be diminished by it. But the emperor would not give up a plan which answered to both his religious convictions and his political designs. In December, 1532, he hastened to Italy, and had an interview with the pope in Bologna. Clement had to yield in appearance; but in reality he had made up his mind not to submit to the emperor's demands nor to summon a council. Rather would he renew his alliance with the French king, notwithstanding that Francis was in close alliance with the Turks, the most formidable enemies of Christendom, and was constantly urging them to attack Germany. Francis promised him not only political support, but also the



FIG. 68. Emperor Charles V. at the age of thirty. Facsimile of the engraving by Bartel Beham (1496-1540).

advancement of his family, the Medici. In the autumn of 1533 Clement himself accompanied his niece, Catharine de' Medici, to Marseilles, where they met Francis and his second son, Henry of Orleans, whom Catharine was to marry. Important agreements were entered upon by the pope and the king: a powerful principality was to be built up for Henry in Italy; Milan and Genoa were to be given back to France; in return, Francis bound himself to prevent the convening of a council.

Meanwhile, in Germany, Philip of Hesse, who had keenly discerned the advantageous conditions for the Protestant cause, was dissatisfied at the Religious Peace of Nuremberg and was only waiting his opportunity to break it, and, in spite of it, to extend Protestantism over German soil. This opportunity came in Würtemberg, whose duke, Ulrich, had some years before been expelled from his lands by the Hapsburg Catholics on account of his evil life and was now in exile; Würtemberg was in the hands of the Hapsburgs. Philip, with more zeal and shrewdness than patriotism and respect for agreements, met the French king at Bar-le-Duc in Lorraine and received from Francis, who was thus unquestionably violating the Peace of Cambrai, a subsidy of 200,000 gold thalers for a campaign to restore Duke Ulrich to his Würtemberg possessions (January, 1534). The emperor was at this moment in Spain preparing for war against France, and Ferdinand, his brother, was so occupied with the Turks and with Zápolya, that he had to leave the defence of Würtemberg entirely to his officers there. But as Duke Ulrich forbade his vassals to assist Austria, Ferdinand's governor could only bring together a force of from 10,000 to 12,000 men. The landgrave and the duke, on the other hand, supported by French and Lorraine troops, as well as by some of the imperial cities, had at least 25,000, mostly Protestants. The Austrians were completely routed at Laufen (May, 1534). The whole of Würtemberg fell into the hands of Ulrich; his subjects forgot his former misdeeds and remembered only that he was their lawful ruler.

Meanwhile, the Turkish corsair, Khair-ed-Din, called Barbarossa, a good friend of Francis I., was laying waste the Neapolitan coast and making himself master of Tunis. Ferdinand, aware of these comprehensive plans against himself and his brother, and being unable to oppose them by force, now sought to break them up, even if he had to make some sacrifices. So, in June 1534, he concluded with Philip the Peace of Cadan, which assured Würtemberg to Ulrich, and preserved to the Hapsburgs only an illusory suzerainty which did not deprive the duke of his position in the empire. It was the Protestants who, no thanks to Ulrich, derived the largest advantage from the peace. It added im-

mensely to the consideration they enjoyed thus to have worsted the king of the Romans, and, despite the emperor, to have restored to power a prince who had been eighteen years in banishment. Besides, the Peace of Cadan secured religious liberty for Würtemberg and checked all further proceedings of the imperial council against Protestants there.

These two important successes greatly increased the strength of Protestantism, but did not really seriously impair the power of the house of Austria, which was what Francis and the pope had been aiming at.

Since the Peace of Nuremberg, Lutheranism had been steadily growing, and at this time, though not embracing the majority of the rulers, it certainly did embrace the majority of the German people. The persistent refusal of a council by the pope won new adherents to the Reformation. The court of Rome was an object of detestation all over Germany. In the lands that had at an earlier date followed Luther's teaching, the new church was thoroughly organized; in all of them monasteries had been secularized and the income of their lands assigned partly to the princes, partly to the nobles, partly to the support of schools and pastors. In Lower Germany the two Pomeranian dukes introduced the Reformation into their states; they were followed by numerous Westphalian cities and the princes of Anhalt. No one paid any attention to the restrictive clauses of the Peace of Nuremberg. But in Northern Germany, and in Westphalia especially, the country nobility and the city aristocracy repeatedly opposed the Reformation. In Soest the people got the upper hand, and in Paderborn they were on the point of breaking down the opposition of the aristocracy; but by far the most violent struggles occurred in the largest city of Westphalia, Münster.

As early as 1525 Münster had successfully carried out a movement which was partly religious and partly democratic, against the bishops and clergy at first, and then against the ruling classes in general. Just after the good-natured and peace-loving Bishop Frederick of Münster formally sold his dignity to the greedy and stern Bishop Erich of Paderborn, a Lutheran preacher, Bernt Rothmann by name, established himself in the immediate neighborhood of Münster, where he found very ready hearing. When, at the emperor's command, the bishop tried to expel him, Rothmann fled to the city itself and placed himself under the protection of the guilds which favored the new doctrines (1532); he became the special protégé of Bernt Knipperdolling (Fig. 69), a rich draper. During the unsettled period of transition from the rule of one bishop to that of another, Rothmann succeeded in gathering, unmolested, a numerous congregation. But as soon as Erich had finally assumed control, he directed all his energies against the innovators, and probably would have sup-

pressed them had not death suddenly overtaken him. This death was the signal for a great Protestant rising in Münster, and, under Rothmann's guidance, the evangelical service was introduced into most churches, and an alliance made with Philip of Hesse. The new bishop, Francis of Waldeck, was glad to make a peace with Münster, by which six parishes were surrendered to the evangelical party and the cathedral and conventual churches left to the bishop. Thus was Lutheranism firmly established in the capital of Westphalia by the people. It was not long before it was disturbed by those revolutionary and socialistic principles that had more than once accompanied the Reformation, and by the Anabaptists.

Just as the Zwickau fanatics arose to disturb Luther, so the Anabaptists, under Conrad Grebel, a citizen of Zurich, arose in Switzerland against Zwingli. These fanatics, like the earlier ones, preached that direct revelations from God to the individual were the sole efficient source of authority; they adopted Zwingli's view that all power rested with the community, as being well suited to the radical democratic demands of the time; and they rejected the baptism of infants and favored the baptism of adults—rebaptism or Anabaptism. Persecuted in Zurich and in Switzerland generally, the Anabaptists made their way into Upper Germany. The oppression and persecution which they endured won them the hearts of the people, and their secret and hidden ways charmed the childish imaginations of the multitude. Doctrines emphasizing the community of goods, the equality of all classes, pleased the masses, but called down the wrath of the ruling classes. Thousands of these Anabaptists, mostly harmless and really devout people, were put to the sword or burned at the stake in Austria, Bavaria and Swabia. But, as usual, the joyous constancy of these martyrs persuaded an ever-increasing number that theirs must be the true Christianity. The cruelties they suffered also had the result of increasing and heightening their fanaticism by convincing them that Anti-christ was ruling on the earth, and that speedily the strong angels of the Lord would come and set up God's kingdom among men. Melchior Hofmann, a wandering Swabian furrier, was the first to give systematic development to the vision; he reintroduced Anabaptism thus modified into Lower Germany, East Friesland, and the northern portions of the Netherlands. In Amsterdam was soon gathered a numerous community, some of whose members belonged to the higher classes. The prophetic visions of the "Melchiorites," as Hofmann's followers were called, became wilder and wilder; in the year 1533 they thought the establishment of God's kingdom by his saints and the bloody destruction of all the godless to be close at hand. This dangerous form of Anabaptism found an

advocate in Jan Mathys, a baker of Haarlem, who claimed to be a second witness—Melchior Hofmann being the first—and by means of



FIG. 69. —Bernt Knipperdolling. Facsimile of the engraving by Heinrich Aldegrever (1502-1562), dated 1536.

numerous apostles spread his doctrine with incredible rapidity in the German-speaking portions of the Netherlands and in Westphalia. In



FIG. 70.—John of Leyden. Facsimile of the engraving by Heinrich Aldegrever, dated 1536.

Münster they were favorably received by Rothmann and Knipperdolling. In February, 1534, Jan Mathys himself moved to Münster, the New Jerusalem, and the council was forced to permit the free exercise of

Anabaptist worship. Not long after all non-adherents were driven out by force, all images, holy or profane, all books—except the Bible—all musical instruments, were burned in the public market-place. Property was to be held in common, but each one was to carry on his own affairs.

These fanatical delusions still grew during the siege of the city by Bishop Francis. It is true that Jan Mathys perished in a foolhardy sortie that he undertook with only thirty companions; but John of Leyden, (Fig. 70), the "tailor king," at once assumed the character of prophet. He was a handsome, fiery man, with natural eloquence and boldness. Following the Mosaic code, he appointed twelve elders to dispense justice in the community; Knipperdolling was to execute their decrees with the sword. Polygamy was established, and respectable citizens who opposed such excesses were either executed or thrust out by the Anabaptists, just as the Anabaptists themselves had been treated by the world.

Finally, John had himself elected king, and chose a court of his most devoted adherents. He was, he proclaimed, the Messiah destined to reign over the whole world on the throne of David. With fanatical piety he combined unbridled licentiousness and a frantic fondness for bloodshed. When, in August, 1534, Bishop Francis tried to subdue the fanatics in Münster, he was driven back by the Anabaptists and great havoc done to his troops; his blockade became nominal. This success of the Anabaptists gave new impetus to the spread of their doctrines through all Germany, and in the Netherlands gave rise to several uprisings, so that John of Leyden announced to his blockaded adherents that a hundred thousand of their countrymen were advancing to their release. But these were defeated in May, 1535. Meanwhile, the siege of Münster had assumed a very different aspect. The rapid growth of Anabaptism on the one hand, and on the other, the fear lest the emperor should seize this pretext to take possession of Münster, at last roused the Protestant princes in earnest. In December, 1534, the Protestant and Catholic princes of Lower Saxony and the valley of the Rhine decided to raise an army against Münster. The most zealous for the uprooting of the Anabaptists were the evangelical princes, who wished to clear their religion of the stain of such fanatical and socialistic excesses. The reinforced besieging army did not undertake any direct assault, but waited for famine to bring the enthusiasts to terms.

Finally, a few famished burghers, who had succeeded in making their escape, showed the landsknechts the way into the fortifications. On June 24, 1535, the besiegers penetrated into the town and overcame the garrison. Rothmann met his death in the struggle, but John of

Leyden and Knipperdolling fell into the hands of the enemy and were put to death with terrible tortures. All Anabaptists were driven out of the city, which thus lost two-thirds of its inhabitants. All its privileges were forfeited, a citadel erected within its walls, and Catholicism fully restored. For many years afterward, in various parts of Germany, Anabaptists were hunted down and punished.

It is worth noticing how nearly contemporaneous the overthrow of the socialistic element in Münster was with the defeat which the democratic party, under the leadership of Jürgen Wullenwever, suffered in Lübeck and the other Hanseatic towns, as well as with the worsting of Zurich in the Cappel war. The time of political independence for the cities was already over; the old organization of society on a municipal basis had given way to the new territorial organization of the princes.

In the year 1534, Clement VII. died, having witnessed, without power to prevent it, the spread of the Reformation among all western nations, the confirmation of Spanish rule in Italy, and the introduction of irreconcilable discord into his own family. The political horizon was full of gloom for the Holy See, and the shattering of all his plans broke Clement's heart. He was succeeded by Alexander Farnese, as Paul III. This new pope was a cultivated, free-thinking man, but by no means the reformer needed by the church to enable her to meet her foes on equal terms; he was dissolute, crafty, and devoted to the aggrandizement of his family. To the emperor the change was at first beneficial, in so far as it put an end to the alliance between the pope and the French king.

Charles decided, in the interest of Christendom, to avail himself of this favorable turn to put an end to the terrible piracies carried on, from his stronghold in Tunis, by Khair-ed-Din (Barbarossa). A large force, consisting of Spaniards, Germans, and Italians, embarked in the fleet with which Charles sailed against Tunis in the summer of 1535. Barbarossa's forces, though twice as large as the emperor's, were put to flight. Retaining possession of a few fortresses on the coast, the emperor re-instated the former ruler, Muley Hassan, from whom he had nothing to fear.

In this expedition Charles had played the part of a real emperor, as chief and champion of Christendom against its unbelieving foes; the destruction of this nest of Tunisian pirates won him the gratitude of all Europe. But Francis I. had profited by the emperor's absence to lay claim to the duchy of Milan, just left vacant by the death of the last of the Sforzas.

Charles would not allow the claim; the utmost he was willing to do was to confer it upon the French king's third son, and this on condition



FIG. 71.—Armor of Emperor Charles V.
(Vienna.)

of an alliance between France and the empire against the Turks and the Protestants. Of course, the French king refused this arrangement. Not to become the vassal of Charles, but to be enabled to oppose him most efficiently and lawfully, did he demand possession of Milan. Such opposite views could be settled only by another appeal to arms. Then Francis, seeing that the emperor was only trying to gain time to reorganize his army after the Tunis expedition, began the campaign at once, and in a few weeks made himself master of the whole of Savoy (spring of 1536).

This conquest of Savoy and Piedmont was a fatal blunder. The emperor could henceforth appear as the champion of the independence and freedom of Italy against French invasions for conquest and greed. In a short time Charles (Fig. 71) had assembled in Italy an army of 50,000 men, and thought himself ready to take the offensive; but, forgetting the lesson of the campaign of 1524, he invaded Provence, while a second army marched from the Netherlands into Northern France. Francis at once laid Provence waste, so that Charles lost half of his men by famine and disease, and was obliged to return to Italy. His forces in the north fared no better.



FIG. 72. Pope Paul III. Reduced facsimile of the engraving by Agostino Veneziano, who flourished 1509-1536.

Public opinion came to the emperor's assistance. All through Europe, in France itself, there prevailed intense indignation at the alliance of Francis with the Turks, and the terrible depredations of the latter in the Ionian islands and along the Apulian shores. The pope (Fig. 72) was stirred, and through his intervention (February, 1538) an alliance was concluded between the Hapsburgs and John Zápolya, who deemed himself contemptuously treated by the Turks. Both parties promised to help each other against the Ottoman power; Zápolya was to retain the part of Hungary he still held, but at his death it was to pass, not to his own children, but to Ferdinand. This, at least, allowed the Hapsburgs free play in the east. Paul next turned his attention to the west, where he found an ally in the second son of Francis, Henry, who, by the death of his elder brother, had just become dauphin. Full of religious zeal, the young prince urged his father to put an end to his alliance with heretics and infidels; the king himself was not without conscientious scruples. He consented to treat with the emperor at Nice, using the pope as a medium of communication. It was impossible to bring the two parties with their opposite claims to a permanent agreement, but they consented (June 18, 1538) to an armistice of ten years, during which the *status quo* should be preserved. France retained Savoy and two-thirds of Piedmont; the other third remained in the emperor's hands; the unfortunate Duke of Savoy had nothing left but the county of Nice.

The three years of war between the emperor and Francis had allowed Protestantism to pursue its course undisturbed. The non-observance of the Peace of Nuremberg became more apparent every day. In spite of it, cities and principalities adopted the new faith, and were, in consequence, put under the ban by the imperial council, and the orthodox princes formed leagues to execute this judgment. The Protestants were determined to prevent its execution, and held a convention in Smalcald (December, 1535). Here also came an envoy of the French king to persuade them to form an alliance with his master. This was what Ferdinand most feared, and to prevent it he made the important concession that the imperial court's decree should not apply to any state that should henceforth join the Smalcaldic League, a concession which virtually released the Protestants from all the limitations of the Peace of Nuremberg. The French envoy was dismissed, and the league renewed for ten years. An army of 30,000 men could now be raised. Even more valuable than these successes was the increase of harmony that manifested itself among the various Protestant sects.

Martin Bucer, the Strasburg reformer, had for several years been untiring in his efforts to bring about a union between the Zwinglians

and the Lutherans. In May, 1536, Bucer and theologians from Saxony, Upper Germany, and Hesse met in the house of Luther, who was then ill, in Wittenberg. After several days' discussion the Wittenberg Concordat, prepared by Melancthon, was brought forth, in which German Zwinglians—there were no Swiss present at the meeting—acknowledged that the bread and wine of communion are sacramentally—not substantially—the body and blood of Christ. Thus among German Protestants, at least, union existed for a short time. They were in a very satisfactory condition. Nothing so far had been able to check the spread of their doctrines. They were firmly bound together, strong, and fully armed; even with the emperor and his brother their relations were friendly.

Paul III., as has been shown, was inclined to favor Charles. And he fulfilled one of the latter's favorite plans by convoking a council to meet at Mantua in the spring of 1537. What the Protestants had long desired seemed to be on the point of accomplishment; yet it became quite doubtful whether they would attend the council, since they were given no guarantee of an impartial judgment. They declared they would appear before competent and unbiased judges as equal members of the common church, but not as defendants standing trial. But where could such judges be found?

About this time appeared the articles prepared by Luther, at the request of the Electors of Saxony, as a sort of common confession of faith for the second meeting of the Smalcaldic League, to be held in February, 1537. They conformed to the Augsburg Confession and the "Apology," but they were in more definite language. Especially—a thing that the Protestants had so far avoided—the papal supremacy over the church was declared inadmissible.

The convention at Smalcald declared, without further debate, that the council was unacceptable to the Protestants, and requested the emperor, without the pope's aid and sanction, to convoke a free and unbiased council on German soil. By this request the Protestants turned Charles against them even more strongly than they had expected. The meeting of a universal council had long been one of his favorite schemes, and it had been one of the reproaches he had addressed to Clement VII. that whilst heretics wished such a gathering, the pope was opposed to it. Now the facts were precisely the reverse. Charles never forgave the Protestants for this sharp blow at his imperial policy, though the outbreak of war with France made the Mantuan council impossible after all. But while he was still dissembling, his imperial vice-chancellor, Dr. Matthias Held, contrary to Charles's wishes, not only indulged in most violent threats against the Protestants, but also busied himself in forming

a Catholic League to match the Protestant one. In June, 1538, Duke George of Saxony, Henry and Erich, dukes of Brunswick, Elector Albert of Mayence, the Bavarian dukes, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and King Ferdinand, formed at Nuremberg a league for the defence of the old religion. Both parties were arming; but the emperor intervened. He had done everything to widen the breach which the armistice of Nice had made between Francis and his former allies. On the advice of his most trusty minister, Nicholas Granvella, Charles had a second interview with the king at Aigues-Mortes on the southern coast of France. The emperor spared no inducements to bind Francis to himself. He promised to confer, before long, the duchy of Milan on the king's youngest son, the king himself to enjoy in the interim the usufruct of it. In return, Francis pledged himself to join the alliance against the Turks, which the emperor had already formed with the pope and the Venetians.

The emperor was eager to avail himself of these fortunate circumstances to march against the Ottomans, but he had first to put an end to the religious trouble which Held was making in Germany by his threats against the Protestants. Charles did not hide from his chancellor his displeasure with his policy, and refused to sanction the Nuremberg alliance. He convoked both parties to meet at Frankfort-on-the-Main, with a view to reconcile them. After long deliberation the Catholics agreed to a suspension for fifteen months of all the religious suits pending against the present adherents of the Augsburg Confession. This limited suspension at first did not satisfy the Protestants, but they were somewhat dismayed at the conduct of the French envoys who, conformably to the new policy of Francis, jealousy urged them to join the emperor in a common struggle against the Turks. Thus urged they agreed to the Frankfort suspension (March, 1539).

One of the bitterest foes of Protestantism had been Duke George, head of the younger or Albertine house of Saxony. But in April, 1539, he died without issue, and his brother and successor, Henry, a thorough Evangelical, began at once with Melancthon's guidance to introduce the Reformation. Thus all of Albertine or ducal Saxony became Protestant, as was already electoral Saxony.

The accession of a second electorate was of still more importance to the Lutheran cause. Joachim I. of Brandenburg, a harsh, obstinate ruler, had been a zealous and even intolerant Catholic, who had subjected his wife and his sons to bitter persecutions because of their Protestant tendencies, and had planned to exclude Protestantism even under his successor. But no sooner was he dead than the younger and bolder of his two sons, John, Margrave of Küstrin, went over to the Lutheran

side with his subjects. The more prudent Joachim II. only gradually introduced the new faith into his states, aided in this by Melancthon and his pupils. His example was followed by a large number of other states in Northern Germany, so that of the whole Nuremberg League only Henry of Brunswick was left ready and willing to march against the reformers.

The emperor was bitterly grieved by this rapid growth of Lutheranism. But once more the state of European affairs prevented him from doing anything to check it. In Milan and Tunis unpaid mercenary troops revolted; in Castile, clergy and nobles refused to grant further subsidies; on the same ground of excessive burdens, Ghent, the richest city of Flanders, raised the standard of rebellion and asked the king of France for help. Beset by such difficulties in the other portions of his empire, Charles was forced to leave the German Protestants in peace. Even thus he could scarcely have maintained himself had not the pope and the Constable Montmorency kept Francis faithful to the Hapsburgs. The bait of a reversion of Milan to France also had its influence on the king. When the emperor decided to go from Spain to the Netherlands in order to subdue the rebellious citizens of Ghent, he accepted the pressing invitation of Francis I. to make his way through France, where he was received most cordially (winter, 1539).

When Francis demanded that his friendship should now receive its reward, the emperor pointed out that Ghent must first be subdued. But this was quickly done. The conquered city was most severely punished, and the heavy fine imposed upon the city provided Charles with money for military expenses; the terrible fate of the conquered city had secured submission from the Netherlands for a time at least. The expulsion of the recalcitrant clergy and nobles from the Castilian Cortes had made of that body an obedient tool of the emperor. He thought himself strong enough now to disclose his real purpose to the French king. He refused to cede Milan directly to Francis, and summoned the latter to evacuate at once Savoy and Piedmont.

The eyes of Francis were at last opened, and he saw that he had been ridiculously cheated and mocked by the emperor. The heretofore all-powerful Montmorency was obliged to leave the court and retire to his estates. Duke William of Cleves, who had re-seized his duchy of Guelders, of which he had been unlawfully dispossessed by the emperor, was honored and encouraged, by being betrothed to a niece of Francis—Jeanne d'Albret, heiress of Navarre (July, 1540). Francis found another ally in Sultan Solyman, who had already made up his mind to make another campaign against Hungary. His former ally, John Zá-

polya, had fallen in a battle against rebels (1540), and King Ferdinand, according to the agreement of February, 1538, was preparing to take possession of his share of Hungary.

European relations were now extremely strained, when an unforeseen occurrence kindled a conflagration. The French agent in Constantinople, Rincone, was murdered by command of the imperial governor (spring, 1541) as he was making his way from France to Turkey through Milan, with the project of the Franco-Turkish alliance in his pocket. Francis, properly enough, looked upon the crime as a violation of international law, and determined to use it as a pretext for making war upon the emperor.

Meanwhile, the sultan began his campaign, and, owing to Ferdinand's insufficient force, captured Buda, which remained a Turkish possession for more than a century. Charles, instead of directly assisting his brother Ferdinand, took a notion to make a diversion against Algiers, but the expedition failed altogether, a storm having destroyed a large part of the imperial fleet (autumn, 1541). The great losses in men, materials, and money, that Charles suffered in this expedition, as well as the prospect of a new campaign in Hungary on the part of Solyman, decided Francis (spring, 1542) to make an attack on the emperor without further delay. His only ally now was the Duke of Cleves, but he had gathered a force such as France had never seen before, 120,000 strong, largely made up of foreign mercenaries.

But Francis was wholly lacking in military foresight. He divided up his attack and directed it against countries of secondary importance in themselves, and strongly defended by fortresses—Roussillon in the southwest, Luxemburg in the northeast. Against the former he sent the Dauphin Henry, against the latter, Henry's brother, the Duke of Orleans (July, 1542). Still the situation of the emperor was difficult, especially as the Elector Joachim II. of Brandenburg, who was conducting the campaign against the Turks, at the head of 30,000 men, was proving himself a wholly incompetent general. In such a strait as this the emperor could not give much attention to German affairs, still less to the carrying out of his plan of vengeance against the heretics.

At the diet at Ratisbon, in 1541, at which the emperor himself was present, an attempt was made to reconcile the Catholics and Protestants, and to unite the strength of the empire in the war against the Turks and the French. Never did the two parties come nearer union than at this meeting in Ratisbon. The papal legate, Contarini, even inclined to the Protestant doctrine of justification, and a large number of the Catholic states were favorable to an agreement. Bucer, a Protest-

ant, and two Catholic theologians, had prepared a book on the contested points (the so-called *Liber Ratisbonensis*), which found acceptance as well with Luther as with Granvella and Contarini. The commission selected to carry out the project of agreement consisted mostly of peaceable men, theologians as well as politicians. On the doctrine of justification by faith—that corner-stone of Lutheranism—they came to an agreement after a few sittings, and the conclusion reached leaned, on the whole, to the Protestant view. But on other matters, such as the significance and number of the sacraments, and the power of the bishops and of the pope, no agreement could be reached. Still the emperor and the electors were inclined to a provisional peace, based on the articles which had been actually agreed upon, but unfortunately the princes, who composed one section of the diet, rejected it. In spite of this hostile attitude of the Catholic majority in the diet, Charles, in a declaration, which had no legal binding value, gave to the Protestants, whose aid he urgently needed against the French and the Turks, emphatic assurances that satisfied them. They, in return, showed themselves gratified for the favor of the emperor, and voted for the raising of a force of 50,000 men to march against the Turks (1542). A Protestant prince, Joachim II., of Brandenburg, assumed the command of this army, a position for which, as has been stated above, he proved quite unequal. When the envoys of Francis made overtures once more for an understanding between their king and the German Protestants, they were positively rejected.

The emperor learned now what immense advantage a positive, anti-papal attitude on his part would have secured him in Germany. His present antagonism to the pope made him all-powerful in the empire, besides securing for him the valuable assistance of Henry VIII., who had separated from the papacy. As France favored the Scots, the hereditary foes of England, and was the ally of the pope, Henry formed a close alliance with the emperor (February, 1543). Nothing less than the partition of France was contemplated by the two allies. Meantime, Francis had sent his forces into the field. While he himself at the head of a strong army fell upon the Netherlands, William of Cleves attacked the empire on one side, and on the other Khair-ed-Din (Barbarossa), with a formidable fleet, accompanied by an invading army, led by a Frenchman, laid waste the coast of Calabria. Then the Turkish corsairs sailed to Marseilles, where they were kindly received and allowed to sell their Christian prisoners on the public market. After committing new atrocities they withdrew to Toulon, which Francis allowed them for winter quarters (1543).

This shameful and ultimately fruitless alliance of France with the

infidels called out a storm of indignation throughout Europe, but especially in Germany, where the Turks were dreaded and abhorred. For the first time the cause of the emperor appeared as a truly national cause (PLATE VI.). The emperor turned this patriotic wrath to excellent use. With a few thousand Spaniards and Italians he hastened to Ger-



FIG. 73.—A color-bearer in the German infantry: the right leg is bare. Engraving by Heinrich Aldegrev.

many, where he quickly raised 34,000 volunteers and mercenaries. William of Cleves then learned how little reliance was to be placed in the French alliance. The king looked on idly, while Charles in a campaign of a few weeks overthrew this prince, the best prop of France in Germany, and compelled him to give up Guelders, renounce all anti-imperial alli-

F

Erdinann von
zu allen

Wir setzen in kainen zweifeln
en Jarn vnnnd derselben Nedem besonnder bey Euch vnnnd annd
wider stand dem Erbvreinde Gemainer Cristenheit dem Türcken durch
suchen vnd hanndlen haben lassen / Auff welche hanndlung vnd beschehe
em Reichstag zu Regenspurg angeschlagen vnd beschloffen worden. gebo
Glaubens sach zwischen gemaindes heiligen Reichs Stendden künig
ung in Laistung der Turcken hilff mit einlassen möchten So haben erlich
zigen Particular hilffen vnd sonderlichen wo die Protestierenden Ir gel
treglich sein würde. Diweil aber bis her aus mererlay ansehllichen vnd
halten werden mögen Vnnnd doch die Kott vnd das obligen Gemeiner Cr
tilgung vnd verderbung des Christlichen Namens auch dero Landd v
für versam sein Gramig gegen Teutscher Nation vrelenger ye mer erwe
lichen vorhabens ist. noch dises Jar das Rünigreich hungern vnd fur
Römisch Kayserlich May. 10. Vnnser Lieber Brüder vnd here aus gne
Kayserlichem gemüt zu Gemainer Cristenheit vnnnd vorab Teutscher
ogen in Bayern Vnnnd Joachim Maergraffen zu Brandenburg zu Stercu
Des heiligen Rō. Reichs Erztruchassin vnd Erz Camere vnnserer Lieb
halber götliche hanndlung phlegen zelassen Damit als dann vmb souil m
dann solches die hoch vnd vnnuermeidlich notturtfft erfordert in das wer
tag zu Franckfurt dahin gebracht das mit den Protestierenden an frid
Das Sy sich zu der Eyllenden Turcken hilff wie die alls obsteet auff de
machen wellen wie dann solches der abschied zu Franckfurt gemacht ferer
lieber sehen wolten das zu volkommer bereit machung solcher nottwerndi
en Reichs obligen daran auch nit wenig sonnder trefflich vnnnd vill geleg
Diweil aber solches die zeit keins wegs erleiden mag vmb deswillen da
schaffen in Kurtz besorgen muß So ist darumb vnd zu notturtffiger fur
en daselbsthin die Protestierenden mit volmechtigem Gewalt schicken vn
vnd wölichermaß dieselb mit der notturtfft in das werckh gebracht vnd
en der Kay May. vnd fur ons selbs vnnserer Rat vnd Comissari mit no
en yez gedachter Kay. May. Euch solhen Tag hiemit v
Ernstlich begerend Ir wollet zu furdung dieses lobwer
solchen Tag mit volkommem Gewalt vnnnd Beueh verordnen vnnnd sch
Richtigkeit zebringen vnd in solchem one wider hinderlich bringen Entli
schen wellen solhes Ir Gemainer Cristenheit vnnnd fu
vndou sambt dem das solches Euch vnnnd gemainer
Geben auf vnnserm Rū. Schloß zu Prag den X X. tag Apprillis An

Mandate of King Ferdinand issued to the city of Wimpfen
Trinity Sunday (June 1), 1539, at Worms, which sh

Issued at Prag

Seiner Gnaden Römischer König
in Merer des Reichs.

Erhöhet in guter gedechtnus / wie vnd welcher massen wir in den zweyen nechsten verschie-
Stennden des heiligen Römischen Reichs / von wegen Erlangung einer Eylennden hilff zu
re Kere vnd Comissari / auch ausgegangne schreiben / mit allem Embßigem fleiß vnnnd Ernst an-
tuchen / sich gleich wol / etliche aus den Stennden / der Eyllenden Turggen hilff wie die auff Jungst
lich bewilliget / Etlich aber haben jr Entschuldigung dahin gestellt / Dieweil in der Religion vnd
gleichung gemacht / vnd Sy des Friedens mit versichert wären / das Sy sich on die selb versicher-
famen Gemainen Reichs tag oder versamblung aller Reichs Stende gewauert / nach dem die am-
us in solbe Turcken hilff nit laissen / gegen des Turcken grossen Macht / Vnerschieslich vnd vnser
glichen vrsachen / wie offenbar vnd wissenlich ist / kam Reichstag oder Gemaine versamblung ge-
hailt / vnd sonderlich Teutscher Nation / von wegen bemelte Turcken vorhaben vnd furnemen / züuer-
züt mit aufgehört / Besonder gedachter Turck / mit seiner Tyranny gegen der Christenheit für vnnnd
das Christlich Plät vnerbarnlich vergossen / Vnd das Er wie alle kundschaften lauten / des ennt
Teutsche Nation züberziehen / vnd in sein Tyransche gehorsam zebringen. So ist demnach die
n vnd Väterlichem mitleiden / so sein Lieb vnnnd Kay. May. aus angebornem Christlichem vnd
n treget / bewegt worden / durch die hochgebornen Ludwigen Phalggraffen bey Rem vnd hertz-
mern der Cassuben vnd Wenden hertzogen / Burggrafen zu Nürnberg vnd Fursten zu Rugen /
Schwager Otham vnd Churfürsten / mit den Protestierenden Stennden / der Strittigen Religion
und statlicher von Gemainen Reichs Stennden / die zu Regenspurg bewilligt Turggen hilff / wie
bracht werden moge / Welche handlung von bemelten beden Churfürsten auff Jungst gehaltenem
Anstand / auff funffzechen monet lang gemacht / vnd von den Protestierenden bewilligt worden /
reichstag zu Regenspurg angeschlagen worden / neben andern des heiligen Reichs Stennden gefast
seigt. Vnd wie wol die Ró. Kay. M. vnd wir von derselben wegen auch für vns selbs / vil
Turcken hilff / ain Gemainer Reichs tag aufgeschriben vnd gehalten / auff das in andern des Heilig
ben Richtig machung berurter Turcken hilff einsehung gethan / vnnnd gehandelt werden mochte /
so spat im Jar ist / vnnnd man sich des Turcken Ein vnd vber zugs / nach aufweisung der Kunde-
g der Sachen auff Sonntag Trinitatis schieristen am Tag gegen Wormbs angesetzt vnd furgenom-
rdinnen werden / neben andern des heiligen Reichs Stennden die Eyllend Turcken hilff / wie
ist werden solle / zuberahtlagen / vnnnd endlich zubeschliessen / Als wir dann auff solchen tag / in Nam-
stigem Beuelh vnd Instruction abfertigen werden / Darauff so wollen wir anstat / vnd in Nam-
de vnnnd züwissen gemacht haben / Von Irer Lieb vnnnd Kay. May. wegen gnediglichen vnnnd
en Christlichen wercks vnnnd furnemens / Gemainer Christenheit zu wolart vnd Erhaltung / auf-
en / die angesagt hoch nottwerndig Turggen hilff / in würckliche volziehung / vnnnd gewisse
schliessen helfen / wie Wir Vns dann zu *Wurck* gang / vngezweifelt veröffnen vnd ver-
lich Teutscher Nation zu wolart vnnnd gutem aus Christlichem gemüt / genagt vnd willig sein /
Wurck zu Trost sicherheit vnd Lang wirtiger Erhaltung geracht /
1539 IX. Vmffere Reiche das Römischen im Neunten vnd der andern im Dreyzehenden.

*Quamend. Ich
Hans. Pfund.*

W. H. S.

regarding sending delegates to the Imperial Diet to be held on
ld take measures against the invasion of the Turks.

April 30, 1539.

ances and return to the Catholic faith (September, 1543). This success closed the year's campaign (Fig. 73).

Charles wished, above all, to secure the co-operation of the empire in his warlike enterprises, and summoned a diet to meet at Spires early in 1544. Here he acted with extreme skill; he let the evangelicals understand that the hostility and dishonesty of the pope were gradually bringing him over to the Protestant side; before long he would declare himself openly in their favor. The war against France he must carry on vigorously first, so as to be free to deal afterwards with the Turks—whose defeat was essential to Germany. Thus the German princes were persuaded that their own cause was identical with the emperor's, and voted 19,000 men to the emperor for his war against France and 9000 for the campaign against the Turks. As a return the emperor made declarations in favor of the unhindered extension of Protestantism, and promised, without, or even against, the pope, to take in hand the question of a religious reformation in Germany. It was whispered in German courts that Charles had already secretly become a Lutheran. In truth, never yet had there been so good an understanding between the emperor and the Lutherans, or such good promise of a preservation of religious unity in Germany. With an army of at least 40,000 men, mostly Germans, Charles felt he could safely move against the French. His ally, Henry VIII., landed at Calais with a nearly equal force. The two armies were to advance rapidly toward Paris and to combine to besiege the capital. The campaign opened most favorably (Figs. 74, 75). Undisturbed by the superior French army that had concentrated to oppose him, the emperor pressed on, gathering much booty on the way, till within thirty miles of Paris, which was thrown into indescribable fear and excitement. Had Henry VIII. been true to his agreement and appeared before the city, the French cause had been lost. But the English king thought it more prudent to conquer the seaports of Northwestern France, thus making it impossible for Charles to begin the siege in earnest. Francis saw at once that he must profit by the separation of his two enemies if he would escape complete destruction. He hastened to make sincere overtures of peace to Charles, and the latter thought best to accept them. The terms offered by the French king were exceedingly favorable and settled the long rivalry between the two great monarchs, altogether to the emperor's advantage. The Peace of Crespy, concluded September 18, 1544, conceded Franche-Comté, the Netherlands with Tournai, and the kingdom of Naples to Austria; the conquests of France in Piedmont were to be surrendered; and Francis's second son, Charles of Orleans, with a number of French duchies as his portion,



FIG. 71 Armor of a German knight about 1550. (Tsarskoi-Selo collection.)

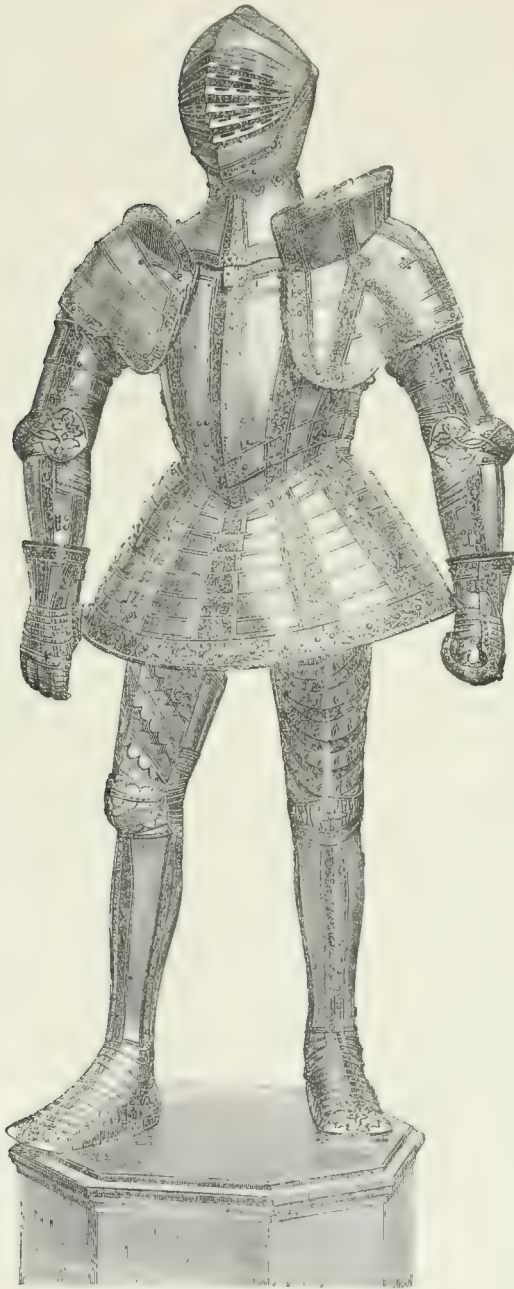


FIG. 75. Armor for a foot soldier. Made at Augsburg about 1550. (Vienna.)

was to marry into the emperor's family, and receive with his bride either the Netherlands or Milan, but as the emperor's vassal. The Hapsburgs had clearly triumphed over the Valois.

Having thus defeated and humbled his great rival, the emperor thought the time had now come to reap the reward of thirty years of patient and wearisome toil. In a secret compact Francis promised three things: first, to support Charles against the Ottomans; secondly, to assist in bringing about the convocation of a council; thirdly, to help restore religious unity—that is, to effect the overthrow of Protestantism.

CHAPTER VI.

TRIUMPH OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY. FAILURE OF CHARLES'S PLANS.

ALL the marks of good-will which the emperor had shown the Protestants since 1532 had been forced from him either by sudden anger with the pope, or by the pressure of a double struggle with France and the Ottoman power; Charles had in reality remained as decided an enemy of all radical Protestantism as ever. But every hope of limiting and confining Protestantism by diplomatic means and compromises was clearly futile; the new faith, largely owing to the enforced neutrality of the emperor, had during the last few years grown so strong and so boldly aggressive, that nothing short of overwhelming strength could stop its progress. The Protestants were fully aware of their strength, and proceeded, in 1542, to use it against the last strong supporter of Catholicism in Northern Germany, Henry of Brunswick.

Duke Henry, a stout and self-reliant prince, was aiming at making himself master of the neighboring imperial city of Goslar and of the city of Brunswick, which, though bearing his name, was really almost independent. Making it a pretext for his attack that both these cities were Protestant, the duke laid siege to them. Then the Smalcaldic League decided to come to their assistance. In the summer of 1542, Landgrave Philip and Elector John Frederick (Fig. 76) took the field against Henry, and in a few weeks conquered the whole of Brunswick. Henry, finding no helpers anywhere, fled to Bavaria. The Reformation was at once introduced into his territories. The remonstrances and warnings of the imperial council and of King Ferdinand received not the slightest attention.

The emperor had not been pleased with the excessive zeal of Henry; but the bold act of robbery of the League was worse. Still more significant was another occurrence that threatened to transfer permanently into the hands of the Protestants the actual legal supremacy in the empire, and strike a serious blow at the future of the Hapsburg dynasty. In Germany, the whole structure of the empire and the power of the church within it rested, in large measure, upon the temporal position of ecclesiastics—

tical lords. Consequently, nothing else had given more concern to all political and religious conservatives than the transfer to the ranks of the



FIG. 76. John Frederick, the Magnanimous, of Saxony. Engraving, dated 1543, by George Peretz 1500-1550.

Protestants of some of the ecclesiastical states, such as the Teutonic Order, the Archbishopric of Magdeburg, and many bishoprics. But concern was changed into horror when the most powerful of the three

ecclesiastical electors,¹ the Archbishop of Cologne, prepared to pass over to the new faith. With the exception of Bohemia, the temporal electors—Saxony, the Palatinate, and Brandenburg—were already Protestant; by the accession of Cologne, the heretical electors would actually outnumber the orthodox electors four to three. Such an event was most significant, both from a religious and from a political point of view: it meant the choice of a Protestant emperor at the next election; and it meant that the house of Austria, owing to the attitude it had assumed toward Lutheranism, would be sure to lose the imperial crown, which it had worn for a century and which it looked upon as almost hereditary. It is easy to understand, therefore, of what supreme importance it was to the emperor and the orthodox party in general, not to allow the Reformation to prevail in the Lower Rhine archbishopric. Yet nothing but force could prevent it, for the sound sense and conscience of the aged archbishop enjoined upon him to use the power entrusted to him for the benefit of souls, which he thought he could best accomplish by a Reformation based on Bible doctrine. He invited Bucer to Bonn, his residence, and the reformer preached there for months, with the approval of the archbishop and his subjects.

This superiority which the Protestants had secured in these last years determined the emperor, in return for readily renewed assistance against the Turks and the French, to recognize the equality of rights of Protestants and Catholics, and to promise definitely to summon a general, free (that is, not papal) Christian council, and in case this was not possible, to inaugurate in the following year a national German Reformation.

The situation was so threatening for Catholicism that all the Roman prelates and the orthodox German bishops besieged the pope with requests that he convoke a general council as the only way of warding off the final overthrow of Catholicism north of the Alps. Paul III. consented, and sent his nephew, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, to Germany to conclude a treaty with Charles. In March, 1545, the council so long desired by the emperor met in the German city of Trent,² though

¹ By the "Golden Bull" of 1356 (Vol. X., p. 45), the election of the emperor was regulated, and definitively entrusted to seven electors, who had practically long exercised this right. Three were ecclesiastics—the Archbishop of Mayence (arch-chancellor of Germany), the Archbishop of Treves (arch-chancellor of Italy), and the Archbishop of Cologne (arch-chancellor of Burgundy); and four were secular—the King of Bohemia (arch-seneschal), the Count Palatine of the Rhine (arch-steward), the Duke of Saxe-Wittenberg (arch-marshal), and the Margrave of Brandenburg (arch-chamberlain). In 1514, the electoral dignity passed from the Ernestine line of Saxon dukes to the Albertine (Duke Maurice; see p. 435).—ED.

² In March, 1547, ostensibly owing to the prevalence of the pest, the council was transferred to Bologna. It reassembled in Trent in May, 1551, but was prorogued in April, 1552, to be convoked again in January, 1562. It closed its work December 4, 1563.—ED.

on the southern side of the Alps. But the Protestants positively refused to have anything to do with it. Luther had once eagerly called for a council. Now he scorned this, in which he claimed the pope was all-powerful. At the request of Elector John Frederick, Melancthon wrote a pamphlet to show that the Council of Trent was not a free council, and that Protestants should reject it. The more fiery members of the Protestant League urged on their brethren to take up arms at once. On the other side, a formal compact was passed between the emperor and Cardinal Farnese; the pope promised to furnish troops and money for the subjection of the heretics, but as a return the duchies of Parma and Piacenza must be made hereditary possessions of the house of Farnese. With what firmness, decision, and clearness of purpose Charles V. conducted these affairs, and as contrasted with him how inefficient the leaders of the Protestants appear! Neither the honest but pedantic John Frederick nor the talented but passionate Philip of Hesse was a match for the emperor. The electors of the Palatinate and of Brandenburg remained aloof from the League, partly from irresolution, partly out of jealousy of the two princes just mentioned. One man only was qualified to hold his own against Charles—Duke Maurice of Saxe-Dresden. But he had been so offended by his cousin, the elector, in a quarrel concerning the suzerainty over the bishopric of Meissen, that he now inclined rather to the emperor's side than to that of the Protestants.

The Smalcaldic League should have turned to the best profit the defeat of Henry of Brunswick, the acquisition of a fourth Protestant elector, and the temporary weakness of the imperial forces. But when, in January, 1546, the papal bull deposing the Archbishop of Cologne appeared, the Protestants had no help ready for their friends but an appeal to the emperor—sure to prove fruitless. The Protestants looked with irresolution and inaction on the approaching conflict—a conflict that was to decide the ruin or the final establishment of their cause. Luther, the great reformer, the most significant character that Germany ever produced, did not live to see the issue (PLATE VII., Fig. 77). The last years of his life had been years of ill-health and forebodings, very different from those of his eager, vigorous prime. It cannot be denied that in the evening of his life he had ceased to play an important part in religion and politics; but two sentiments had remained within him in unimpaired vigor: deep, devout faith, and hatred of Rome. When, suffering from a severe attack of sickness, he left the meeting at Smalcald in 1537, his parting word to his friends had been "The Lord fill you with his grace and with hatred for the pope." He was taken ill on a journey undertaken to reconcile Count Mansfeld with

so prim

Die gerechtten haben Lust zum Wort
Gottes. Und reden denn davon tag
und nacht

Darinnen

Kommen sie auch alles. Thun alles
und bleiben ewiglich genuss und frucht
bar, wie ein palmbaum am wasser

Die Gottesen haben Lust

Facsimile of an entry by Martin Luther on the first page of the memorandum
Book of the Reformers preserved in the Library at Wernigerode. Dated 1542.

für himm

Die Gerechten haben Lust zum Wort
Gottes. Und reden gern davon tag
und nacht

Darinn

Kommen sie nicht alles Thun als
und bleiben ewiglich grün und frucht
bar. wie ein palmbaum am Wegste

Die Gerechten haben Lust
an ihrem Gott. Tag und Nacht

Darinn kommen sie auch
nicht. Thun nicht. Bleiben nicht. Sondern
Vergehen. Wie eine Pflanze. mit alle
ihrem Gut. ihre Heim. nach Tag
und Nacht

Am

Vorhin. Darinn. man. nicht. mehr.

Und alle die from. bleiben mit.

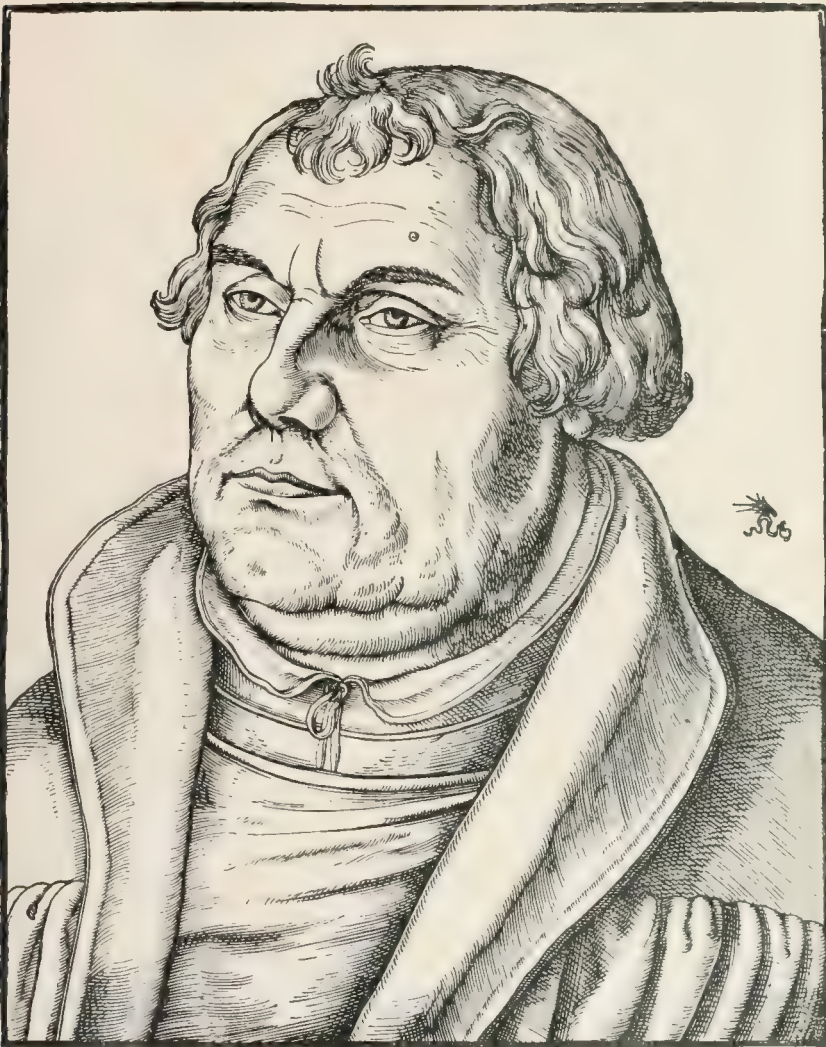
Lust und Liebe

Amen

Mart Luther

1 5 4 2

der Currenseyen Dominus



Epitaphium D. Mart. Luth.

Martinus Lutherus lebte mit welt/
Von hin/beim stuch/ begraben lezt.
Das wer ansehung gnug gewesin/
Doch soltu gleichwol weiter lesen.
Nach dem die gnade Christi gese/
Die uns von sunden machet los.
Und der rechte Glaub/ des uns allein/
Gott gefellig macht/ und wider sein/
Missethumb was heilsich besiedt.
Was finsternis hat zu geseit/
Und lag durch weidlich gang begreben/
Ist wider gar von new erhuben/
Dieselbig Gnad end rechter glaub/
Durch diesen Man aus ruffem stau.
Denn da die blinde Begierere/
Durch Menschen ler und Minderere/
Die reine lere best ganz verstedt/
Da hat Gott diesen Man erweckt/
Nach in ein new licht angeleitet/
Das Evangelium laut verstant.
Welche lewende stant in Teutschem Land/
Und wird bestendiglich bekant.
Gleich wie Daniel Paulus ihu erlegen/
Ist mit starcken donnerschlegeln/
Angesprochen

Nach wie Johans den Truffers hand/
Das Lamb Gottes setz in weissem land.
Welche soltu zum opffer sein gebracht/
Und werden fih all sund geschlacht.
Also do die welt finster war/
Und reine lere verloschen gar.
Hat Luther uns Christum gewest/
Den ist die Kirchen wider prest.
Er hat auch deutlich alle lere/
Der geseine lere abgesondert wer/
Welche schreiet die heizen und verflucht/
Vom Evangelium welche da trucht.
Gold unter derd/ die nötig war/
Ist gewest unvor verpflucht gar.
Bis der Allen hat an lag gebracht/
Und Christi gaben fund gemacht.
Verdampft die falsche gleimere/
All missebreuch end abgötterey.
Und hat den rechten weg anleitet/
Zum waren Gort die lere so fere/
Auch gestafft des Bapsts u Rom bös tück/
Ein Gottes Reich end bewacht stück.
Damit er hat gros more gestift/
Die Christlich Kirch gleich vergestift/
In hat Luther auffgericht

Also sein lauff durch Gottes gnad/
Groomüthlich vollendet hat.
Gerad in neun mal sieben Jaren/
Watin er hat reichlich erliden.
Viel der wens/ schmachens aus gestanden/
Din in Gott selbs u seinen handen/
Aus dieser welt mit sanftem todt/
Erforbert hat aus dieser not.
Also er wird mit Christo leben/
In ewiger freud/ do im ewig geben/
Gottes ulag nads ewiget liden/
Nach seinem todt im himela tron.
Drumb solt Gott danken u deman/
Der rechte lere hat denomen.
Auch all die nach uns weichen sein/
Teilhaffig dieser pre digt sein/
Das uns Gott hat den ewig geben/
Und beten auch mit vles danken/
Dass er erhalt die lere aus geden/
Welche er der welt zu geben hat.
Das ewach mög gepflanzt werden/
In vul mehr liden die auß erden.
Vff das fundt rich. Gottes namen/
Das geb der gnedig Vater. Amen.

FIG. 77. Portrait of Luther. Woodcut by Lucas Cranach, after Luther's death.

his subjects, and died at Eisleben in the night of February 17-18, 1546. This sudden death—a relief for Luther himself—was a serious blow to his adherents, who lost with him their strong spiritual stay.

Whilst the Protestants were thus feebly inactive, the emperor was making his preparations on a formidable scale. His plan was not to attack all his adversaries at once, but to win over to his side as many of them as possible, in order first to break up the Smalcaldic League and destroy its leaders. This done, he thought it would be easy to subdue the rest isolated. Duke William of Bavaria, though a zealous Catholic, had often acted in conjunction with the Protestants owing to his hatred for the Hapsburgs, and as late as the summer of 1545 they had easily won him to their party; but now, by the promise of territorial aggrandizement, the emperor made him his ready ally. But by far the most important man whom the emperor joined to himself was Duke Maurice of Saxony (Fig. 78).

Maurice, whose natural talents made up for his lack of education, succeeded in 1541, when but twenty years of age, his father, Henry, as ruler over one of the most populous and important duchies of Germany. A Protestant he was, like his father, but by no means a zealous or enthusiastic one. He acknowledged no obligations of kinship, gratitude, or compacts. He had lived at war with his parents, was ill-affected toward his father-in-law, Philip of Hesse, and did not think himself under a debt of gratitude to his cousin, John Frederick, though the latter had treated him as a son, and had often supported him in trouble. His only policy was pure self-interest, but this policy he understood and practised with a skill seldom equalled by German statesmen. Tall and spare of figure, his wonderfully sharp and flashing eyes gave him, even in his youth, a striking appearance. But no one was more distasteful to him than his cousin, John Frederick, with his broad, pedantic, and anxious countenance, and his continual discussions with petty, quarrelsome theologians. The Meissen difficulty, above referred to, had only intensified Maurice's dislike of a man from whom, not without reason, he expected only political blunders. But the most weighty matter of dispute between the two princes was the archbishopric of Magdeburg, whose inhabitants had almost all turned Protestants. Both of them wished to secure this prize. And this it was that decided Maurice's course of action. He tendered his services to the emperor, for whom he had already valiantly fought against the Turks and French. Charles named him conservator and protector of the two important sees of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, and took him again into his service.

By June, 1546, the emperor had completed all his preparations; his

difficulties with the pope were arranged; he won over some Catholic and Protestant princes of note; his military plans were settled; and there was sufficient money for a few months at least. It was only for the sake of appearances that he opened some hopeless negotiations between



FIG. 78.—Maurice, Duke of Saxony. Painting by Lucas Cranach, 1559. (From H. Bürkner.)

the two parties at the diet of Ratisbon. His real design was, on the one hand to force the pope and council to a beneficial reform of the church, on the other to drive the German heretics to submit to this reformed church. If he had previously denied the religious character

of the approaching struggle, we must look upon this as a perfectly conscious and premeditated self-deception.

And yet it was on this deception that he justified his plans; not because of religious differences, but of political disobedience, particularly in the Brunswick matter, did he claim to be carrying on the war against the chiefs of the Smalcaldic League. Now, at length, the members of the Smalcaldic League recognized their impending danger. But their very fears inspired them with determination. As yet the emperor, whose headquarters were at Ratisbon, had a force of only 9000 men with him; he was waiting with impatience the arrival of his forces from Hungary, Italy and the Netherlands. The Protestants hastened their own preparations in order to profit, if possible, by this situation. By the beginning of August, 1546, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse appeared in South Germany at the head of a force of 20,000 men; they were joined by 12,000 soldiers, thoroughly equipped, the contingents of Würtemberg and the imperial towns of Upper Germany, under the command of an old experienced commander, Sebastian Schärtlin. Schärtlin began the conquest of Tyrol, in order to intercept the troops that the emperor expected from Italy. But, much to his chagrin, the chiefs of the League recalled him from his successfully opened campaign. Had his plan been carried out, they would have attacked the emperor with far superior forces and either destroyed his army or driven him far to the east, and kept him apart from his expected reinforcements. Philip of Hesse seemed to have lost all his former eagerness for action, and wasted his time in aimless marches and countermarches, till the emperor, having received reinforcements from Germany, Italy and Spain, found himself at the head of 40,000 men. For many weeks the antagonists were encamped opposite each other near Ingolstadt, for the emperor was in no haste. While the Protestants were wasting time, an army from the Netherlands 17,000 strong, under Maximilian von Büren, was hastening to join the emperor.

But not even this brought on a decisive action. The emperor simply transferred the theatre of hostilities (Fig. 79) to Protestant Würtemberg. The decisive blow came from a quarter from which the Protestants least expected it. After negotiating during the whole summer with both parties, Maurice of Saxony had at length obtained from the emperor a long-desired reward—the electoral dignity of John Frederick and the larger part of his territory were promised his dynasty if he would attack his cousin as a rebel against the empire. Consequently, in November, 1546, Maurice, with his own troops and those of King Ferdinand, fell upon the electorate, and in a few days made himself master of it.

This was a signal for the breaking up of the great Protestant force in Swabia. John Frederick hastened to the rescue of his provinces, and Philip was no less anxious to cover his dominions. Everything was lost by these divisions. It is true that the elector found no great difficulty in routing the forces of Maurice, and not only recovering his own lands, but seizing the larger part of his rival's, for Maurice was bitterly disliked by his own subjects, who were zealous Protestants. But what signified these local advantages? The Protestant cause was meanwhile suffering



FIG. 79.—Armor of a German soldier. Sixteenth century. (Vienna.)

irretrievable disasters in South Germany. Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg once more had to flee his country, which, at the end of the year, was almost wholly in the possession of the imperialists. In the beginning of the following year, after repeated entreaty, Ulrich obtained pardon for his rebellion, but on very humiliating conditions, which placed his dukedom under the control of Charles.

The South German states were easily conquered, and had to pay the emperor as war contributions sums which, employed at the proper time against him, would have won their religious and political liberty.

The turn of Cologne came next; the archbishop had flattered himself that he could retain his electoral prerogative by abstaining from taking part in the war against the emperor. He was made to see his mistake. In the beginning of 1547 two imperial commissioners appeared in



FIG. 80.—Charles V. on the field of Mühlberg. Painting by Titian. (Madrid.)

the electorate to carry out the papal bull of deposition, and forced the gray-haired prelate to abdicate. These successes aroused the fear and jealousy of the pope and the French king, who made another anti-imperial alliance; Paul III. withdrew his Italian troops from Germany,

and Francis I. sent the Protestants 200,000 gold crowns and promised them military support.

At the same time there began in Bohemia against the Hapsburgs a Protestant rebellion that threatened to assume formidable proportions. Charles saw that this general opposition could be rendered harmless only by the quick overthrow of the Smalcald forces in Northern Germany, and hastened to Saxony with 27,000 men to relieve Maurice. John Frederick had imprudently scattered his forces and in hot haste withdrawn toward his fortress of Wittenberg, relying on the help promised him by the Bohemian Protestants. But these failed him through cowardice, and the emperor found it an easy task to rout the Saxons at Mühlberg, on April 24, 1547 (Fig. 80). The elector himself, after a valiant resistance, was taken prisoner. "Now I am here," he sighed; "God pity me."

The overthrow of the League was complete. Charles was advised by his confessor, Soto, to behead his Saxon prisoners as rebels, but would not. In the camp before Wittenberg, the cradle of the Reformation, John Frederick had to sign a capitulation (May, 1547), by which he yielded his fortresses to the emperor, renounced his electorate and a large portion of his duchy in favor of his cousin Maurice, receiving therefor, instead of a sentence of death, imprisonment at the emperor's pleasure. Thus the younger or Albertine line of the Saxon house obtained the upper hand over the elder, the Ernestine.

Then came the turn of Philip of Hesse; he was persuaded, under the impression that he would not be imprisoned, to sign a capitulation which, notwithstanding some very severe conditions, left him his lands intact. Great, therefore, was his astonishment, when he fell before the emperor to make his submission, to find himself arrested and held as prisoner. This was done through a quibble in the words of the capitulation, which had been negotiated by Maurice of Saxony; but to the German people, who did not understand the quibble, this looked like Spanish treachery, and Maurice was detested as in a large measure responsible for it, and in fact for the whole defeat of the Protestant League. In the popular ballads of the time he is referred to as the "incendiary," the "great Judas," and the "church-robber."

In getting rid of John Frederick and Philip, Charles had fully accomplished his original purpose. The power of the German heretics, which for a few years had forced from him most unwelcome concessions, was completely broken; a determined resistance on their part seemed nowhere possible. After a brief struggle, the Bohemian Protestants, who at the critical moment had shown themselves cowardly and inactive,

made their submission. Prague and other cities were punished by the loss of all their franchises and by the execution of the ringleaders. The cities of Magdeburg, Brunswick, Hamburg, and Bremen were the only ones that successfully defended the cause of the Reformation. Everywhere else the emperor ruled over Germany more absolutely than any of his predecessors since Henry VI. His Spanish and Walloon soldiery held it in subjection, in direct violation of the terms of his election agreement.

The pope himself was dismayed at the sweeping success of the emperor, and the sudden death of the king of France, on March 31, 1547, made him quite disposed to a reconciliation with Charles. Charles could not forgive Paul his treachery. He secretly favored a rebellion against Pier Luigi Farnese, Duke of Piacenza, the pope's son, which ended in the murder of Farnese and the occupation of the most important fortresses in the duchy by imperial troops. No wonder that Paul, wounded alike in his paternal affection and in his dignity as feudal suzerain of Parma and Piacenza, threw himself unreservedly into the arms of the French and their young king, Henry II. This visibly growing estrangement between pope and emperor could not fail to have a decided influence on German affairs. So bitter was the political opposition between them, that even where religious interests pointed to close union, they divided in sharp antagonism, and Charles was once more to see his imperial ideal shattered at the very moment of his greatest triumph.

At the diet of Ratisbon, which opened in the autumn of 1547, the emperor endeavored to reap the permanent results of the great political success of the last two years, and to restore religious unity. The states were ready enough to submit to a general council, but only on certain conditions: that it be retransferred from Bologna to German soil, a condition which fully agreed with the views and wishes of the emperor, but to which the pope absolutely refused his consent. This led to a formal breach between him and Charles, who by his ambassadors in Rome solemnly declared that the council which the pope had transferred from Trent to Bologna was a pseudo-council and illegal (January, 1548).

The emperor now proclaimed that he would independently, without reference to pope or council, restore religious unity to Germany. It was a common idea at that time, however strange it may seem to us, that a few neutral and vague formulas would suffice to reconcile the most opposite convictions. Accordingly, a committee of three was appointed to prepare these formulas: the stout orthodox Vicar-general Michael Helding, the moderate Catholic, Julius von Pflug, and the court-preacher of the Elector of Brandenburg, John Agricola. Thus the Catholic element

was prevalent in the committee, and John Agricola, a vain, weak man, was utterly incapable of acting as a counterweight. Consequently, the scheme, which was to avail only until the meeting of a general council, and was consequently called the "Interim," was strongly catholic in spirit. The marriage of priests, and the use of the communion in both kinds was allowed, and on the dogma of justification certain concessions were made to the Protestants. But in other matters the Interim of Augsburg contained nothing but the orthodox catholic doctrines, though expressed in the softened phraseology of diplomacy.

The majority of the Protestants accepted this Interim in the spirit of religious unity in which the emperor offered it to them. But when it came before the orthodox party these declared that the Interim could not be accepted by such as had remained in the old religion, and the emperor, however unwilling, had to abide by this. Ferdinand absolutely refused to grant the Interim to his Bohemian subjects, in spite of their repeated demands.

The Interim was then failing of its intended general application, and really turning out to be a violence practiced against the Protestants, in spite of the promise Charles had, at the beginning of the war, made to them, that they should not be forced to recant. The excitement among them was intense; satirical songs and pamphlets were scattered over the land, in which the Interim appeared as the child of Lucifer and his "Lady the Papess," and people were told:

"Look out for the Interim,
The Devil's behind him."

Charles must have acknowledged to himself that his work had only half succeeded; that even after his great victory he did not have in church or state the authority that he thought belonged to his dignity. He had to be satisfied with imposing the Interim upon the Protestants. As for Catholic Germany, the diet agreed only to a few modifications affecting discipline.

Whilst Charles, relying on the terror of his arms, was striving to confirm his power in Germany, he showed at the same time how little he considered himself a national ruler of the German people. At the same diet of Augsburg he completed the union of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands that belonged to him, and released them wholly from the authority of the ordinary imperial magistrates. Their connection with the empire consisted only in comparatively small contributions of troops and money, in exchange for which they were promised defence against all attack (1548). So it was Charles V., and through him the

Hapsburgs, that sundered the tie that for a hundred years had bound the Netherlands to Germany.

Though the diet of Augsburg had in many important respects brought the emperor decided advantage, it had failed to accomplish his ambitious designs. With his characteristic tenacity, he was determined to proceed with his plans. The death of Paul III., in November, 1549, proved very opportune, for the pope had manifested ever-growing hostility to the emperor. His successor, Cardinal del Monte, a vain and passionate man, heretofore a most decided opponent of the emperor, was won over to Charles's side by fear and family ambition. The new pope, Julius III., declared himself ready to reopen the Council of Trent (1550).

In 1550, Charles was nearer his aim than before. The papacy had ceased its resistance. The deliberations of the council were to be resumed in the imperial city of Trent, under the auspices of the emperor. France was humbled; Italy and Germany lay at the emperor's feet. At the diet held in 1550, the German princes no longer refused to recognize the decrees of the general council. A few more moves and he would come off victor in his life-game.

The first mishap that befell him came from his brother Ferdinand, who was ready to support the general Hapsburg policy, but only in so far as it did not run counter either to Catholic interests or to his own. The emperor's dearest wish was to insure the permanency of his great work by leaving his son Philip as successor, not only to the Austrian possessions, but also to the empire. This offended Ferdinand (Fig. 81), who had, as King of the Romans, well-founded claims to the succession. The brothers were outwardly reconciled, but mistrust remained in their hearts.

The arrogance with which Charles treated the most prominent German princes, and the reckless manner in which Spanish soldiers plundered the Palatinate, the Saxon duchies, and other territories, excited profound discontent throughout Germany, among Catholics as well as Protestants. The fate of John Frederick and Philip embittered rather than frightened the German people. Protestants began to denounce the Interim as making too few concessions to the new faith, Catholics as making too many. All that was lacking was a nucleus around which these numerous elements of opposition might gather. Such a nucleus was found in Maurice of Saxony.

Electeur Maurice had long entertained a secret grudge against the emperor. The Wittenberg capitulation, he thought, had left the Ernestine branch far too strong—its power was a constant menace to him. He thought it consistent with his interests repeatedly to ask of Charles



FIG. 81.—Ferdinand, brother of Charles V., at the age of twenty-eight. Facsimile of the copperplate engraving by Bartel Beham.

the release of his father-in-law, Philip of Hesse, and he chose to consider the emperor's refusal as a personal affront. The latter, moreover, took from Maurice's brother, Augustus, the already secularized bishopric of Merseburg to confer it upon a Catholic bishop. These various causes had led Maurice to form an alliance with the sons of the captive landgrave. Maurice had to proceed with exceeding circumspection, lest on the one hand the overthrown Ernestine line should be reinstated to its former possessions by the disaffected Protestants, and, on the other, lest the emperor and his counsellors should begin to suspect him before his projects were ripe for execution.

Consequently, he had (spring, 1550) tried to make for himself an independent position. He recommended himself to the Protestants by repeatedly and earnestly urging upon the emperor the convoking of a really independent council on German soil, over which neither the pope nor his legate should preside. Then he turned to Margrave Albert of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, a pugnacious and enterprising prince, whose political situation was much like his own, and obtained from him the promise of the assistance of his numerous mercenaries. By means of his Hessian friends he entered into a treaty with the king of France, in the summer of 1550. In the autumn of 1550 Maurice appeared to stand once more wholly on the emperor's side. In November he accepted from the emperor and the diet the commission to carry out the decree against Magdeburg—not at all out of hostility to the city or to Protestantism, but in order to have in his hands the control of the military forces in North Germany, to become the indispensable leader of every enterprise in it, and finally to avert from Magdeburg the worst fate that could befall her. From the very first he made to the city advantageous propositions, but the fear with which he inspired all zealous Protestants kept the citizens from accepting them. They defended themselves most valiantly with the aid of the forces they had enlisted, and made several successful sallies. When troops of the North German League gathered in the vicinity of Magdeburg he surprised them and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them; but soon afterwards he took the routed forces—they were most zealous Protestants—into his pay. This convinced Margrave Hans of Küstrin and his friends that they could accomplish nothing without Maurice. They made approaches to the elector, and he, when he saw them ready to acknowledge his superiority, gladly met them half way. He offered, if the Ernestine branch would become reconciled with him, not only to set the captive, John Frederick, free, but also to replace the lands he had lost by others. * On February 20, 1551, Maurice and Hans of Küstrin met in Dresden and formed an offensive and defensive alliance “for the

preservation of religion and freedom of the German people." This cleared the situation; the Protestants recognized as valid the transfer of the Electorate of Saxony to Maurice; and Maurice became the leader of the Protestant League. While the treacherous Maurice still besieged Magdeburg as the emperor's general, and was begging him to release Philip of Hesse, he was secretly preparing his plans in common with France for the final blow against the emperor.

In September, 1551, occurred the formal rupture between France and Charles and Pope Julius III. Henry II. requested the emperor's ambassador to leave his kingdom; and he forbade the sending of any moneys to Rome and refused to recognize the Council of Trent, then in session. In October, 1551, at a meeting in Lochau, where France was represented by the Bishop of Bayonne, definite terms were agreed upon: in consideration of a monthly subsidy of 60,000 gold thalers, the Protestant princes promised the four French-speaking bishoprics of Metz, Toul, Verdun and Cambrai to the king, under the empty title of Vicar of the Empire; they also were to try to direct the next imperial election to the satisfaction of the king. It cannot be denied that Maurice and his confederates had a certain excuse in the emperor's usurpations, in his tyrannic conduct, in his own anti-German temper, in his religious fanaticism; but there can be no tenable justification for so enormous a treason against the empire as that perpetrated at Lochau.

Emperor and princes later repeatedly endeavored to win these countries back for Germany. As early as at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Protestants themselves angrily felt the shame of the transaction of 1551-1552. Two facts add really to the moral guilt of Maurice—that he was so largely indebted to the emperor, and that he betrayed so basely the confidence the latter reposed in him. A traitor to his nearest of kin, a traitor to his faith, he became also a traitor to his benefactor, to his military chief, to his fatherland. Not without justice have his opponents branded him as "the spy, the knave, the Judas, the man of boundless treachery."

Meanwhile, Maurice had brought the hostilities against Magdeburg to an end. In the first days of November, 1551, he concluded with the valiant city a capitulation which apparently answered to the emperor's wishes, but declarations added thereto granted Magdeburg full amnesty, religious liberty, the preservation of its fortifications. The city, however, was to receive for a few months a Saxon garrison. Maurice took good care not to communicate this agreement to the emperor. After its conclusion, he not only retained his own soldiers, but also took the landsknechts of Magdeburg into his pay.

The projects and preparations of the Saxon elector had not been kept so secret that a vague knowledge of them had not gotten abroad. Charles had been repeatedly and earnestly warned of them by most competent persons; but he who certainly did not make conscientiousness the rule of his own conduct would not believe that Maurice was deceiving him. The latter, it must be said, was carrying on his duplicity with equal boldness and skill. At the very time when he was collecting troops for a decisive campaign, he was negotiating a safe-conduct for his envoys to the council and arranging a friendly meeting with the emperor, then at Innsbruck.

In March, 1552, Henry II. proclaimed that he was proposing to march into Germany to rescue its liberties and to avenge himself on his mortal enemy, the Emperor Charles. In the same month the troops of Saxony, Hesse, and Kulmbach marched southward upon Augsburg. The Spanish garrison, when threatened with a Protestant siege, withdrew without resistance. A manifesto of the united princes notified friend and foe of their purposes: religious peace; the expulsion of the emperor's foreign counsellors and mercenary troops from Germany; and the freedom of the imprisoned princes.

The emperor was taken unexpectedly; his treasury was empty, and he had only a few troops at hand; nowhere could he find help. He at first attempted to escape from his most pressing foes by flight to the Netherlands, but found all roads leading thither barred by Maurice's troops. So he submitted to his fate, and asked his brother Ferdinand to mediate between him and the rebellious elector. But these negotiations did not prevent the Protestants from attacking the imperial camp at the Ehrenberg pass and destroying it, thus driving the infirm emperor to precipitous flight southward over snow-covered mountains. Finally, about the middle of May, an armistice was agreed upon preparatory to peace negotiations at Passau.

Meanwhile, the French king had, without meeting with any opposition, made himself master of Toul and Verdun. Lorraine was forced to submit to French authority. Henry would gladly have added to his conquests Strasburg, Worms, and Spire, in whose neighborhood he stayed some time, but those German imperial cities prepared for vigorous resistance. The four Rhenish electors and the Elector of Brandenburg began to make efficient preparations against the domineering French, and Elector Maurice earnestly prayed the king, now that negotiations for peace with the emperor were in progress, to abstain from attacks upon the empire. Henry had to remain satisfied with the brilliant conquests he had already made, while boasting of his disinterested friendship for the German princes.



FIG. 82. Elector John Frederick, the prisoner, parts from Charles V., at Linz, September 2, 1552. (From a contemporary woodcut by an unknown master.)

The negotiations opened at Passau in the month of June. Maurice, who was ever trying to become reconciled with the emperor, demanded,

first of all, that the Protestants should not be subjected to the decisions of the Council of Trent, and that the Evangelicals should be assured of peace in the whole empire. He succeeded in so arranging matters that a peaceful solution of the religious troubles at the approaching diet seemed certain. Ferdinand promised that the imperial chamber should consist of an equal number of Evangelicals and Catholics. Maurice surrendered all conquests made from Catholic princes. This agreement of Passau, signed by the emperor in August, 1552, was only an armistice, it is true, but proved very beneficial, by putting an end to internal quarrels and allowing the united forces of the empire to turn against the foreign foe.

John Frederick returned (Fig. 82) to his curtailed lands, a martyr and a saint; Philip went back to Hesse. In most places the Interim was replaced by the Augsburg Confession.

The emperor by no means gave up his purpose of resuming the struggle against the Protestants. To make this possible, however, he must first humble the French, by driving back their weak army into their own territory, and forcing the French king to a second Peace of Crespy. He marched, therefore, with his army, 70,000 strong, against the fortress of Metz (October, 1552). This rich city was strongly fortified, had a numerous and valiant garrison, and an excellent commander in the young Francis of Guise. For weeks the imperial army encamped before the walls without success, till the exposure to the damp and chill of fall and winter carried off one-third of the German forces and threatened the existence of the remainder. In January, 1553, the siege had to be raised.

Affairs were no better in Italy. Siena surrendered to the French, and Corsica was taken by them and the Turks. In Hungary alone, thanks to Maurice's aid, the imperialists held their own.

And still the emperor, weakened in body and in spirits, was thinking only of recalling the Passau concessions and reopening the Smalcaldic wars. He even made friends with the wild robber, Albert of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, and confirmed him in the possession of the booty in land and goods which he had made in his plundering raids into Franconia.

Maurice of Saxony, who naturally feared the vengeance of Charles, saw himself obliged to fight and defeat this Albert (Fig. 83), who was his rival as well as the emperor's ally. With a superior force he attacked and defeated him at Sievershausen, July 9, 1553, but he received himself a wound which put an end to his life two days later. Death thus suddenly snatched off a man who, without any conscience, had, within a few years, by keen perception, prudent planning, and quiet, energetic action raised himself from an insignificant position to that of leader of Germany. The

most brilliant prospect seemed open to the young man of thirty-two, when he met his unexpected fate in a quarrel with a robber-prince.

Maurice's brother and successor, Augustus, though a sincere Protestant, was peaceably inclined, loyal to the emperor, and satisfied with the latter's reiterated promise of the electoral dignity.

By the end of 1554 peace and order were restored over the whole empire, so that people might begin to hope the Passau agreement might become a formal and lasting religious peace. This was negotiated at the diet that opened in Augsburg in February, 1555. Charles, who could not give up the idea of Christian unity for which he had fought during his whole life, did not appear at the diet, and left the direction of it to his brother, Ferdinand, who, as the probable future emperor, was now the most im-



FIG. 83.—Silver coin of Albert (Alcibiades) of Brandenburg-Kulmbach. Original size. Obverse: an ornamented cross; in the corners the arms of Brandenburg, Pomerania, Nuremberg and Hohenzollern; and in the centre the eagle. Legend: SI · DEO · PRO · NOBIS · QVIS · CONTRA · NOS with clover-leaf. Reverse: legend, ZV · EREN · MARGRAF · ALBRECHTEN · VND · ZV · SCHANDEN · ALLN · PFAFEN · KNECHT · BLASSENBE; 1.5.5.3. A quarter-thaler minted at Plassenburg, probably the only example. (Berlin.)

portant man in Germany. The absence of Charles made a settlement easier, and, after many discussions, it was decided, in the first place, to establish a lasting peace between the Catholic and Protestant states. The Catholic subjects of a Protestant ruler, or the Protestant subjects of a Catholic one, were to be allowed peacefully to leave and betake themselves to the territory of a state of their own faith. The Protestants, who felt themselves the stronger, asked for the full religious liberty of the subject, but the Catholics objected. It was they, therefore, that insisted upon and enforced the principle *cujus regio ejus religio* ("whose the land, his the faith"). The Protestant churches were expressly freed from episcopal jurisdiction. The Catholics admitted the secularization of ecclesiastical property as far as accomplished; but a serious difficulty arose as to the future. The Lutherans demanded that bishops and abbots should still be allowed to become evangelicals and retain their

possessions, but the Catholics would not consent to this, because they feared that the result of such a concession would be to turn most ecclesiastical foundations into Protestant principalities. On this point, the so-called *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, the two parties could not agree. King Ferdinand espoused warmly here the Catholic view. At last the Protestants yielded on condition that, as an offset, religious freedom should be granted to the evangelical subjects of ecclesiastical masters. But this principle was acknowledged only by a declaration of the king's, not by the law of the empire. Moreover, the Calvinists, and the Burgundian imperial possessions—the Netherlands and Franche-Comté—were entirely excluded from the terms of the peace. The peace concerned only the Catholics and the adherents of the Augsburg Confession.

In spite of these limitations, the Peace of Augsburg is a fact of the greatest importance in German history. It made Protestantism independent of the good-will of the emperor, of the majority of a diet, of pope, and of council. The Reformation, the existence of a new church, was officially recognized by the empire and became part of its institutions, evidently a result of the highest significance for the evangelical party, which henceforth ceased to be a party of protestation and opposition—outside of the public peace, as it were. With the religious Peace of Augsburg the history of the period of the Reformation, in its narrowest sense, closes. On the other hand, the religious and political ideals of the Middle Ages, the unity of church and state for the whole of Christendom, were destroyed, and the last theoretical principle on which to rest a universal monarchy, a protectorate over the universal church, was done away with. This was the signal for the downfall of mediævalism, and was a severe blow at imperial authority. It remains for us to relate the exit of the mighty opponent of the Reformation, who was almost its conqueror, Charles V. (PLATE VIII., Fig. 85). Charles in these last days could not hide from himself that the whole work of his life, in religious as in political matters, was a failure. In his cold autocratic estimates he had entirely overlooked the unconquerable might of the popular conscience, the elastic force of the Protestant faith. But aside from religious difficulties, he had set himself to accomplish the impossible—the erection of a universal monarchy in the sixteenth century.

All countries that were still independent saw themselves threatened by it, and made combinations against it. It was likewise impossible to secure for this plan of a universal empire the permanent co-operation of the pope, the administrator of the church universal. He saw very clearly that Charles reserved for himself the lion's share of power, and

PLATE VIII.



Emperor Charles V.

Painting by Titian, 1548. (Munich.)

he was, moreover, too worldly a prince to see with satisfaction the Spanish rule in Italy. Thus it happened that the pope (Fig. 84), who should have taken the keenest interest in the religious attempts of Charles, appeared in opposition to these at the most critical moments. This opposition it was which wrecked the great religious reforms contemplated by Charles. In addition to all these failures, he was himself worn out by disease and premature debility. The gout, asthma, and other consequences of his excesses had long tormented him, and now troubled him worse and worse because he would not moderate his gluttonous habits. In his fiftieth year he was already a broken-down, decrepit old man, whose speedy end was confidently predicted. Under these circumstances the melan-

choly, misanthropic temper, which had come to him as an inheritance from his mother and her ancestors, gained the upper hand. For several years he had cherished the thought of withdrawing to the quiet of a cloister. Now that his son Philip had grown to manhood and had married Mary of England, the emperor transferred to him Naples and Milan in 1554, and in the following spring definitely determined to shift to younger shoulders the burden of the world's affairs, and to exchange the cold, damp north for the clearer and warmer air of Spain. He summoned Philip from England to Brussels, and there, in a solemn assembly of the States-General, on October 25, 1555, he abdicated the rule of the Netherlands in his favor. In January of the following year, again in Brussels, he ceded to Philip the Spanish realms with all their dependencies as well in the New World as in the Old. The reunion of the Netherlands with the Spanish and Italian possessions of the older Hapsburg line meant their final separation from Germany; for Charles, by conferring upon his son his authority over all his exclusively Catholic dominions, broke his own and his son's connection with the German fatherland. Charles had become entirely reconciled with his brother's plan of reserving the imperial crown for the younger branch of the Hapsburg house, and on September 7, 1556, transferred the administration of the empire to Ferdinand I., still reserving, however, title, crown, mantle, and sceptre; an envoy of Ferdinand remained with him in the



FIG. 84. —Reverse of a Medal of Pope Julius III. It represents the uplifting of Anglia (England) by the pope, Emperor Charles V., Philip II., Queen Mary, and Cardinal Pole. Original size. (Berlin.)

cloister, and he kept up continual communication with Ferdinand concerning the affairs of the empire.

A few days after this transfer he embarked for the retreat that he had long before selected. It was the convent of St. Yuste in the most beautiful and sheltered portion of the Castilian provinces, Estremadura. But the life he led there was not that of an ascetic recluse. "I do not mean to be a monk" (*no quiero ser frayle*), was with him a common saying. Only one meal did he eat with the brethren in the refectory. He was as devoted as ever to the pleasures of the table, and surrounded himself with comforts of all kinds. He also took a decided interest in political affairs, kept himself thoroughly informed about them, and occasionally assumed an active part in them. His political correspondence during this period comprises several hundred documents. The grandees



FIG. 85. —Medal with portrait of Charles V., 1541. CAROL · V · ROM · IMP · AVG · HISP · REX · CATHOL · DVX · AVST · ETC · Bust of emperor, facing to the right, with decoration of the Golden Fleece on his breast. Reverse: QVOD · IN · CELIS · SOL · HOC · IN · TERRA · CESAR · EST MDXLI. The columns of Hercules, and PLVS · VLTRA, were the symbol and the motto of Charles. (Berlin.)

and prelates of Spain visited him no less frequently than did his own family, and vied with each other in sending to him delicacies and rare fruits, which the emperor highly prized. To be sure, he gave himself to religious exercises, and busied himself, moreover, with mechanical contrivances, automatic clocks, etc.; he had historical and edifying books read to him. In the very last weeks of his life his fanaticism flared up on the information that in Spain herself heretical communities had been discovered. Soon after this he grew worse—the famous scene of his obsequies held before his death seems to be the invention of a monk—and, on September 21, 1558, died.

He had tried to turn back the tide of history; in spite of enormous resources and extraordinary gifts, he had failed.

The Reformation had a marked effect on Germany in matters not merely religious, but also political, social and intellectual. It also, without a doubt, loosened still more the already weak bonds that held the empire together. Now that there existed, side by side, within Germany, two religions with opinions, interests and outward connections directly opposite, there could be no more unity, and each party must seek for safety and success much more in itself and in its foreign friends than in the empire. The consistency of the empire was so reduced that not much was lost when it disappeared altogether. One good result of the Reformation was that it freed the empire from the interference of the papal see. Who can regret that papal legates no longer opened German diets, and that appeal in matters wholly secular and imperial could no longer be made from imperial decisions to the papal court at Rome?

Furthermore, it was precisely the stubborn opposition of the most powerful princes to Catholic imperialism, which the Reformation evoked, that made possible the development of the power of the assembled states in the diet, which for a hundred years had been trying in vain to assert itself. Now, for the first time, public peace, the court of appeal, the decrees of the empire, etc., began to be effectual. Amidst all the confusion of these years, every decree of proscription, passed by the imperial supreme court and confirmed by the emperor, was carried into execution. The wild resort to self-defence, the old feudal private warfare of princes and knights, came to an end then, or, if attempted in a few cases, was suppressed with comparative promptness.

The Reformation promoted the growth of the princely power, especially among Protestants, in another way. The secularization of ecclesiastical property—only a small part of which went to endow churches and schools, the larger share being appropriated by the princes—increased greatly the personal wealth on which their real power so much depended. The sees that lay in the great Protestant districts, in Brandenburg and Saxony, for example, were seized as early as the middle of the sixteenth century by the princes, and ultimately their revenues and privileges were permanently united with those of the crown.

A further increase of power came to the Protestant princes from the fact that the headship of the church in their territories fell to them. We saw that this was by no means the original purpose of the Reformation, which rested rather on popular principles. But circumstances had forced it to look to the princes for protection. From the princes, therefore,

proceeded the ordinances which in every territory overthrew episcopal power and jurisdiction. The prince became supreme secular bishop and governed the church by superintendents appointed by himself, as well as by his ecclesiastical courts, generally known as "consistories." From the great influence that the clergy once enjoyed, we may judge how great



FIG. 86.—From Heinrich Aldegrever's *Wedding-dancers* (1592-1562). Costumes of the German nobility about the middle of the sixteenth century.

an increase of power this change brought to the rulers. (For the churches of Cologne, see *PLATE IX.*)

Economically the secularization of church property was mostly beneficial, by promoting the breaking up of vast estates into small farms, either by purchase or by hereditary lease. Notwithstanding all this, German national prosperity suffered severely during the first half of the





View of Cologne in 1531

Redrawn for simile of the large woodcut by Anton of Worms

sixteenth century, mainly because of the total transfer of the great commercial routes from Middle to Western Europe. The discovery of America and of the sea-passage to the East Indies brought prosperity to the Atlantic seaports, while those of the Italian coast and the German ocean, and consequently the interior cities of Germany, lost much of their



FIG. 87. —From Heinrich Aldegrever's *Wedding-dancers*. Costumes of the German nobility about the middle of the sixteenth century.

importance and wealth. Frequent and wasteful wars, the repression of popular enterprise after the Peasants' War, the persecution of the Anabaptists, the debts that the German states were forced to contract in these unruly times, contributed also to the decay of commerce and industry in Germany. States fell more and more into debt, but laws concern-

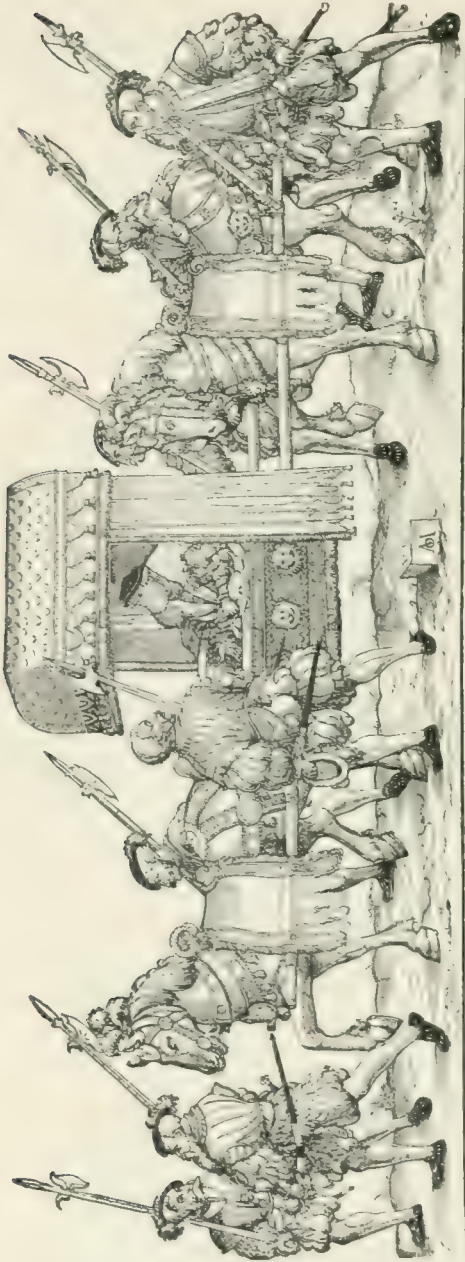


Fig. 87. A prince on his travels: Elector Frederick II. of Bavaria. Woodcut by Michael Ostendorfer, 1596.

ing credit became more severe,—a sure sign of hard times. Dishonest bankruptcy was made punishable by the gallows.

Germany had heavy losses to balance against the glory of the Reformation. The definitive dissolution of the unity of the realm, the development of particularism and bureaucracy, economic decline: the new age signified all these for Germany, though the Reformation was immediately responsible for them only in part, or not at all.

On the other hand, the Reformation gave a lasting impetus and protection to literature and science. The religious opposition to long-established opinions opened the way to the spirit of free criticism that was to set science and thought free from mediævalism. (For illustrations of manners and customs, see Figs. 86–88.) This progress was most manifest in historical writing. The age of slavish copying of earlier writers and of a purely religious conception of history was past. From an entirely different standpoint, with a perception strengthened by

the study of ancient history and with a beginning of historical criticism, men drew nearer to the history of the past. Johann Sleidan's "Book of

"Four Monarchies" is the best example of this new kind of historical writing. Johann Thurmayer's "Bavarian Annals" are a model of popular historical writing, based on a thorough study of sources and a wide-reaching understanding. Contemporaneous events came to be narrated no longer in dry chronicles, as heretofore, but in works with literary color and liveliness; whether autobiographies, like that of Sebastian Schärtlin, the leader of the Protestants of Upper Germany in the Smalcaldic war, or the narrative of distinct episodes, like Willibald Pirckheimer's "History of Maximilian's War against the Swiss," or, finally, comprehensive works, like Sleidan's (Johann Philippson's of Schleiden) "Exposition of the Condition of Religion and the State in the Time of Charles V." The study of the natural sciences also received new life. A revolutionary force penetrated medicine in the person of Paracelsus, who went back to nature, whose powers were at that time so little understood. Astronomy found its great reformer in Nicholas Copernicus, the son of German, not of Polish, parents—a man, in his department, of importance scarcely less than that of Luther in religion. In short, in all fields there is a fresh and vigorous striving, a definite break with the traditions of a thousand years, a conscious effort at subjectivity and criticism, an attempt to secure new and better things.

But the most important gain for literature was the development and perfecting of German speech, partly through the excellent models given in Luther's translation of the Bible, partly through the frequent use of German in writings addressed, not to scholars only, but to the German people. The purely popular forms of German literature, which the Reformation enriched and developed, were numerous: fables, the church hymns, the satires, and political songs. These were a great and permanent gain. On schools and education also the Reformation had, on the whole, a beneficial influence. The plan of the academy founded by Johann Sturm at Strasburg, in the year 1537, in which, instead of dry erudition, he aimed at the development of the whole man, became a model for the education and instruction of youth. If the old humanistic schools at Erfurt and Frankfort-on-the-Oder sadly dwindled, the Saxon universities of Wittenberg and Jena—the latter founded by the Ernestine branch after the loss of Wittenberg—prospered greatly. The schools founded by Elector Maurice at Meissen, Pforta, and Merseburg became celebrated. In education, as in other things, a popular spirit had replaced the former almost exclusive erudition. The system of popular education prevalent at the present time in Germany, and that of classical education in Germany and England, date from the period of the Reformation (Figs. 89–91).



FIG. 89. — City life in Germany about 1550. Woodcut by Hans Sebald Beham (1500–1550). It represents several of the arts and sciences: on the right is an organist with a woman blowing the bellows; in the centre, a merchant reckoning on a counting-board; near him, a writer with his books and ink; then a sculptor; a painter and his assistant; a physician and two astrologists. In the distance, a street with shops, including a goldsmith's shop. At the top, the zodiacal sign for Mercury.



FIG. 90.—Country life in Germany about 1550. Woodcut by Hans Sebald Beham. Various scenes: at the left, a butcher slaughtering a pig; at the right, two monks from a monastery doling out food and drink to the poor; a prison; the stocks, with a respectable man, perhaps the judge, addressing the prisoner; in the centre, a well from which water is drawn by a horse; beyond, a ploughed field with horses ploughing; and a shed with men threshing. On the left, across the stream, tanners washing their skins; a woman with baskets, and a man chopping wood. On the right, a gallows and wheel for torture. Above the picture, the zodiacal sign for Saturn.



Forſan ab indocto ſi i edocere magiſtro,
 Iſt dein Meiſter nicht Künſten frey/
 So ſuch dir ein der gelehrter ſey.

Fac alium quæſas ſedulus eſto i amen.
 Man heiſt den Meiſter vngelerht/
 So der Schüler kein fleiß antehet.

FIG. 91.—Schoolhouse in the sixteenth century. Woodcut by Hans Burgkmair (1472-1559).

CHAPTER VII.

THE ROMANCE COUNTRIES IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

GERMANY, which had so joyfully greeted Charles V. on his accession to the imperial throne, had, at the end of his long reign, deserted him; in Spain, which had at first rebelled against him, he became ultimately quite popular, because he flattered the pride and ambition of the nation. In no other country of Europe was the spirit of the second half of the Middle Ages so long preserved as in Spain. Consequent upon the mighty movement of the Crusades, an enthusiastic type of piety had become closely interwoven with the bold and adventurous spirit of chivalry. This peculiar culture, which had great charm, and to which we are indebted for the noblest creations of the Middle Ages, had everywhere except in Spain yielded to the disintegrating effects of the Renaissance, to the influence of the vigorous spirit of city life and industry, and to the bold, selfish policy of princes. This land, far removed by its geographical situation from the centre of European culture, and still more sharply divided from it by the high barrier of the Pyrenees, had been but slightly stirred by the great movement going on everywhere else. Until the close of the fifteenth century it had been incessantly occupied with the struggle against the Moors and the Arabs, a struggle both of race and of religion, which gave to all Spanish enterprises and interests a strong religious coloring. By a peculiar coincidence, the conquest of Granada and the final expulsion of the Moors from the peninsula took place in the same year as the discovery of America and the beginning of conquests which were expressly intended to win to Christianity the heathen inhabitants of a newly-discovered world. Once more, as during the eight centuries of battling against Islam, the extension of the Catholic faith was intimately connected with the greatness and glory of the Spanish name. The Spaniard believed himself called, with the Cross in one hand, the sword in the other, to conquer the world for his king and for the Catholic faith. Military courage and soldierly honor were hereditary possessions of Spain; added to them were a patience and endurance in hardship and in protracted efforts such as no other people possessed, and great aptness for all military exercises. Such a nation, united under the firm hand of monarchical absolutism,

soon became a danger to other states. Indeed, Spain had erected its victorious banner over half of Europe, in America, and in North Africa, and had built up an empire on which the sun never set.

The long struggles of the Spanish with irreconcilable enemies—religious as well as political—had accustomed them to exclusiveness and to the inexorable oppression of all foreign nations with which they were at war. However self-controlled they could be when forced to it, the habits contracted in camp life fostered a spirit of harshness and inhumanity. They had not learned to treat those beneath them as members with equal rights of a common body politic, and thought only of destroying or plundering them. The art of governing other races, of assimilating them, was entirely unknown to the Spaniards. In America they treated the Indians merely as a kind of beast to be turned to profitable account; in Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy, their rule rested on fortresses, garrisons, and executions. The power of the sword was theirs, but self-control and statecraft they knew not.

This was the political aspect of Spanish rule. But its intolerance and bigotry must be kept in mind also. Whatever may be said against the Inquisition, it was the most popular institution in Spain—the genuine expression of the gloomy fanaticism characteristic of the Spanish people; the masses, with devout and awestruck delight, gathered around the *auto-da-fés*. It was this same fanatical piety that the Spaniards endeavored to impose upon their subjects in other lands.

This policy of conquest and universal dominion had disastrous consequences for the prosperity of Spain herself. In spite of the extraordinary taxation which exhausted Castile, the income always fell below the expenditures, and the crown revenues were more than once pawned for years in advance to the crown creditors. The Spaniard became used to the thought that military glory and an adventurous life were alone worth striving for, and that it did not become him, as a subject of the first power in the world, to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. "They fancy themselves superior to all other nations," is the constant report of foreign diplomats. Aversion to all laborious and honest activity, greed for titles and lucrative positions, love of display and extravagance, an ambition directed toward unworthy objects—these were becoming more and more widespread in the nation. The number of grandees—the higher nobility—was not very large, but the lower nobility—the *hidalgos*—numbered not less than 300,000; and these, with their families, would have deemed themselves dishonored if they had engaged in any useful occupation. Every tradesman of means aimed to secure the title of *hidalgo* for his descendants. Besides this innumerable horde

of do-nothings, there were 180,000 priests and monks of all kinds, not counting the nuns, the number of whom can scarcely have been less than 60,000. The attempt to prove the reign of Charles V. as the epoch of the greatest populousness and prosperity of Spain rests on wholly erroneous assumptions. The expulsion of the Mohammedans and Jews who remained true to their faith, the restrictions upon trade, the constant wars in Italy, Germany, Flanders and Africa, the heavy taxes imposed upon the old provinces for all these undertakings, the discoveries and conquests in America, depopulated and impoverished the country. "The Spaniards," says a traveller of this time, "are not very active; they are not fond of agricultural labors, much preferring to go to war, or to the Indies to acquire wealth." One of the most busy cities, Medina del Campo, had, in the year 1530, not more than 20,000 inhabitants. The chief harbor and most important commercial centre of Spain was Seville; wares from the whole of Europe and the American possessions of Spain were gathered there—the city was called the "Queen of the Ocean"—and yet in 1530 its population was less than 40,000. Commerce and industry had before this in large part fallen into the hands of strangers, a thing that surprises us little when we consider that there were in Spain no less than 102 feast days, nearly the third part of the year, and that they were spent in idleness. Roads and all means of communication were in a sad condition; the laziness and carelessness of the Spaniards allowed the rivers to become filled with sand, so that they were navigable only at their mouths; aqueducts and bridges fell into ruins. "Nowhere else," say all eye-witnesses, "are there so few mechanics and laborers as in this land." Every year, wool of a value of 1,600,000 gold crowns was exported to Flanders, France and Italy, to be made into cloth, much of which was then imported back to Spain. The influx of precious metals from America had, on the whole, a deleterious influence on Spanish industry. The immense amount of gold and silver thus collected in the peninsula depreciated the value of money and raised the prices of everything, that of labor included, so that, in spite of all protective tariffs, the products of home industry could no longer compete with foreign goods.

But though Spain in the reign of Charles V. no longer stood at the summit of her economic development, she was still in the fulness of her greatness; this epoch was the heroic age of Spain. Her literature, till then more popular than artistic, began to improve. In the epistles and sonnets of Diego de Mendoza, the most brilliant exemplification of the Spanish type in the sixteenth century, equally prominent as statesman and soldier, diplomat and theologian, poet and thinker, there breathes

all the pride, the harshness, and the rude strength of the Spanish conquerors of the world.

Torres Naharro and Lope de Rueda created the Spanish drama—without, however, bestowing on it any character of its own; they based it more on ingenious combinations of extraordinary incidents than on close observation and development of character. They offer a strange mixture of high-sounding phrases, burlesque criticisms, and obscene jests. Gradually the Spanish drama developed more freely and richly till it culminated in Lope de Vega and Calderon. Spanish prose owes its improvement to two moralists, Guevara and Perez d'Oliiva, who, read all over Spain and its colonies at that time, are now almost entirely forgotten. These writers, less polished and refined than contemporary Italian authors, are more free, clear, and vigorous. It may be said that in the sixteenth century Spanish literature, though attaining nowhere the highest degree of perfection, had taken firm possession of the national soil, and had opened the path which it has never since forsaken.

In church matters also Spain went its own way. Under its Catholic rulers a reform was begun, based mainly on solid theological studies, which revived and invigorated a church that, both as to morals and learning, stood sadly in need of improvement. The old universities were improved and enlarged, and a number of new ones founded. It was the theology of Thomas Aquinas that inspired the vigorous theologians who filled the Spanish Church with new spirit and zeal. The Spanish Church stood on national principles; it was thoroughly patriotic, and prided itself on its dependence upon its king rather than upon the pope. It assumed toward the latter a somewhat independent attitude, and even endeavored to make the Holy See subject to the Spanish power. The Spanish prelates and theologians, proud of their mediæval orthodoxy, of their glowing zeal for the faith, and of their purity of life, deemed themselves better Catholics than the pope and his Italian court. It is interesting to observe that the Spanish Church showed itself just as sternly national, just as aggressive, imperious, and overbearing as the Spanish government. For the Spaniard of that day, the cause of the Catholic faith was the cause of his country. Under these circumstances, how could Charles V., whose power had its strongest roots in Spain, be expected to observe long a compact with the Protestants? His persistence in calling for a general council that should aim at diminishing papal abuses and at improving doctrine and discipline within the church was quite in accordance with the wishes of his subjects and his clergy.

While Spain had been making conquests in the Western World, which are described in detail in a later volume, her neighbor, Portugal, had

begun to colonize in the Eastern Hemisphere, in Southern Asia, and in the Asiatic Archipelago. In 1537 Nuno da Cunha seized the important city of Diu, and made it the centre of the Portuguese possessions in the East. These were not extensive. The main object of the Portuguese was not land, but the control of the trade in spices. To secure this, they fought the Mohammedans of Egypt and of Persia, who had heretofore controlled it; but their relations with the Indian princes were friendly,

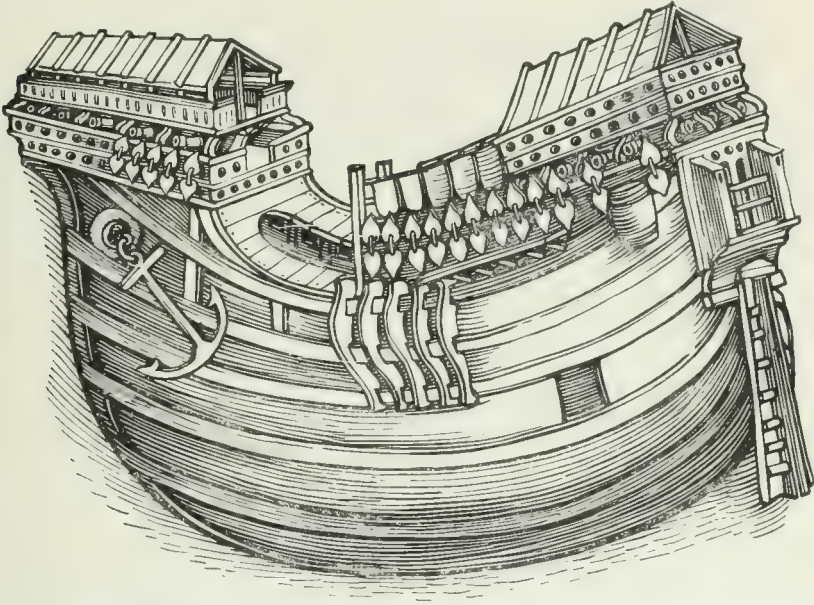


FIG. 92.—Hull of a large ship of about 1500. From the coat-of-arms of Johann Segker
Reduced facsimile of a woodcut of the school of Albert Dürer.

provided these granted them the privileges of establishing fortified factories in their dominions. There was nothing, therefore, in their control at all resembling the present English empire in India.

In Farther India, the Portuguese claimed Malacca. They also extended their sway over Banda and Amboyna, islands of the Molucca Archipelago. Anton de Brito added them permanently to the possessions of Portugal, but here, as elsewhere, the Portuguese were satisfied with suzerainty over the native princes, and the control of the spice trade. The Spaniards tried in vain to dispute their possession of these islands. Finally, in the year 1529, Charles V., by a formal treaty, surrendered forever the claims of Spain, in consideration of an indemnification of 350,000 ducats.

From these spice islands the Portuguese entered into relations with the eastern coast of Asia. Andrade made his way to China. His countrymen settled on the small peninsula of Macao, near Canton; but the rest of China was shut against them. Mendez Pinto visited Japan in 1542, and shortly thereafter the Portuguese secured permission to settle at Nagasaki, where they established a lucrative trade.

The glorious period of the Portuguese settlements in India came to

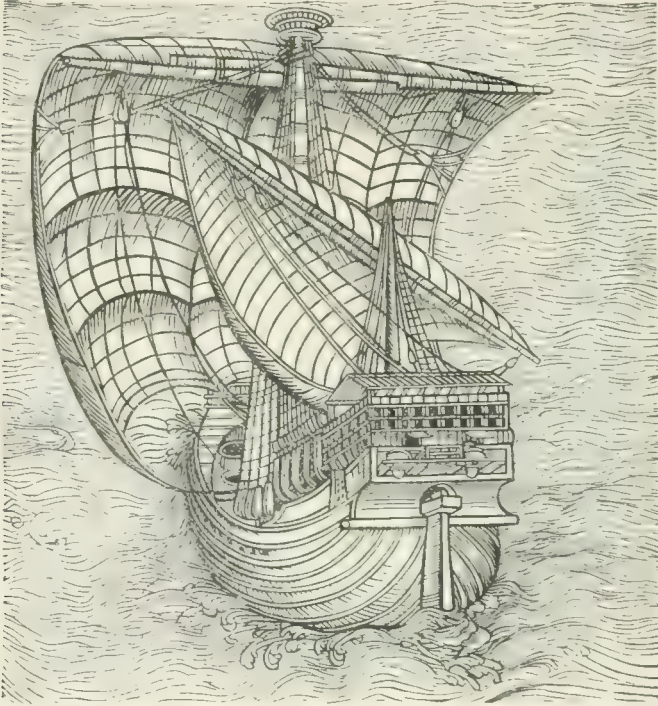


FIG. 93.—Ship of about 1480. From Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinationes*. Mayence, 1486.

an end in 1538 with the vice-royalty of Nuno da Cunha. Portugal itself was passing through a period of gloom and decay; Emanuel the Great had been succeeded, in 1521, by John III., who, in his reign of thirty-six years, ruined his country's prosperity. He was a bigoted and fanatical ruler, a bitter foe of all free thought and of all progress. He introduced the Inquisition in 1536, and so persecuted the most enterprising and industrious portion of his subjects, the converted Moors, that they fled the land in multitudes, thus depriving Portugal of the means of satisfying the demand for men for voyages of discovery and colonization.

Industry and commerce also suffered at home, and the more so because men looked to the treasures of India rather than to the rewards of honest toil. Similar conditions prevailed in Spain, and thus the colonial enterprises of both peninsular nations resulted in more glory than real gain.

While Spain was wasting her strength in undertakings that embraced the world, her rival, France, was carefully husbanding her resources to dispute her pre-eminence in Europe.

Only a slender share in this wise policy can be assigned to Francis I. The brilliant fame which he enjoys, especially among his own people, must, in great measure, be attributed to the incapacity and moral worthlessness of his immediate successors, whose mismanagement of affairs brings out his own rule in an undeservedly favorable light. He has been represented as the founder of a new and nobler era of poetry and art, as the "Father of the Sciences." No doubt he always showed himself favorable to liberal pursuits; but the remarkable development of art and literature in his day is scarcely at all to be ascribed to his influence. Francis, with his knightly elegance and amiability, was always ready to enjoy the delights of royalty, but too often neglected its duties. At first Louise of Savoy and the greedy and vindictive Chancellor Duprat were all-powerful at his court; then the Constable Montmorency, and finally, in the last seven years of his reign, Cardinal Tournon, a harsh, narrow-minded Catholic, but a skillful financier.

In spite of the sad faults of her ruler, the growth of France during the first half of the sixteenth century was vigorous and full of promise. Her industry received efficient aid from without. After the fall of the Florentine Republic large numbers of skilled artisans poured into France, and settled first in Lyons. The manufacture of silk, which had heretofore been largely carried on in Florence, was to a large extent transported to the French city, which soon became the foremost seat of this industry in Europe. Florentine and Genoese merchants founded a public bank in Lyons. Native industries also flourished—cloth-weaving in Normandy, for example. The working of metals, especially iron, assumed such proportions that people feared the price of wood would be generally increased in consequence. High tariffs and even protective legislation protected French industry against foreign competition. The population of Paris rose to 350,000 souls—a larger number than any other European city then contained.

With this productive activity came an increase of commerce. Francis, who always specially favored sea ventures, built, near the flourishing seaport of Dieppe in Normandy, the great harbor of Havre-de-Grâce, which soon became an important port, as well as a fortress of the first

rank. French vessels visited all European coasts, even as far as Scandinavia, where the German Hanseatic League was rapidly giving way before modern economic conditions.

This increased prosperity of the people, so apparent in the luxurious living and sumptuous dress of the period, was cleverly used by the king to raise the taxes to a height never reached before. Chancellor Duprat rendered eminent service to finance by substituting for the irregular loans, previously contracted at enormous interest, a regular guaranteed public debt, which was called the "Rente of the City Hall of Paris," because it was paid there and rested on the Paris octroi. In spite of the heavy drafts constantly made upon the treasury, the finances were so carefully and economically managed that at the end of the reign of Francis I. they were as good as they had been bad when he ascended the throne; 400,000 gold crowns were in the treasury at the disposal of the government. What a contrast to the financial condition of the Spanish government, which, in spite of the treasures of Peru and Mexico, was thoroughly disordered!

French had replaced Latin as the court language, and the first half of the sixteenth century is the age in which literature and the arts reached in France their richest and most popular development. Under the influence of the vast movement, first in the field of knowledge—the Renaissance—then in that of faith—the Reformation—French genius displayed a vigor and versatility which have never since been equalled. Printing-houses multiplied all the literary and artistic creations of the age. Lyons became the most important book-producing centre in Europe. Learned printers, like the Étienne (Stephanus) family, vied with the famous Italians in the number, accuracy and beauty of their impressions. The whole world was filled with a restless striving after knowledge and scholarship.

The forerunner of the new school of poetry was Clément Marot (1495–1544), a man with a charming gift for the lighter sorts of poetry, full of grace and wit. A favorite of the king and of Princess Margaret, his sister, he owed his life, probably, to her intercession, when threatened with a heretic's death on account of his Protestant opinions. More important than Marot was the great sceptic, François Rabelais (1483–1552). In his "*Gargantua and Pantagruel*," a work of infinite wit, Rabelais lashes unsparingly the foibles and absurdities of all classes and professions. In him, as in Marot, we detect the ferment of discontent with the existing order of things, but uttered more deeply, impressively and bitterly. To this same epoch belong the early years of Montaigne, in so many respects akin to Rabelais: his famous essays, however, belong to a later period.

There arose, under the leadership of Joachim du Bellay, a group of authors, the so-called "Pleiad," who aimed to create a finer and nobler poetry on the foundation of antique forms and ideals, an attempt which the nation at once received encouragingly. Who does not know the most renowned of these men, Pierre Ronsard? Elegance of versification, poetical freshness, and deep, genuine sentiment, combine to make him one of the greatest poets of France, of whom the nation might justly be proud.

The bold spirit of inquiry so characteristic of the age penetrated philosophy also. Pierre de la Ramée, surnamed Ramus, ventured to gainsay the authority of Aristotle, revered almost as divine. It is true his attacks were too sweeping, but they had this good result at least: they struck a blow at the scholastic philosophy from which it never recovered. Medicine was likewise released from the shackles of tradition, and established on the foundation of a close study of the human body. Ambrose Paré, the first surgeon of his day, and Fernel, the skilful physician of internal diseases, were the worthy contemporaries of the Dutch Vesalius.

In art, as well as in literature and science, the French distinguished themselves. Francis assumed the position of protector of the arts; at first he sought out and encouraged only distinguished Italians all over Europe, paying slight attention to the nascent home talent. He invited to France Leonardo da Vinci, and this great artist died (1519) in the arms of the king; then Andrea del Sarto, the last of the great heroic masters. Such men overshadowed indigenous French talent (cf. Fig. 94). Still, Jean Cousin (1530), a man of sterner and more earnest temper than his Italian contemporaries, won deserved fame by following his own bent. In the plastic arts, Jean Juste, the creator of the great memorial monument of Louis XII. in the cathedral of St. Denis, is eminent; after him comes a man of much loftier genius, Jean Goujon, who purposely withdrew from the close following of the antique practised by the Italians. His contemporary and rival, Pilon, yielded more to Italian influences; his works are graceful, elegant, and marked by a ravishing, sensuous charm, but lack the noble loftiness of Goujon's creations.

Architecture, as in Italy, busied itself mainly with the erection of castles and palaces. The type is still the old stiff mediæval fortress; but within this traditional form appear entirely new details. A rich variety of high roofs, towers, winding staircases, columns, and vaults of all kinds, windows and portals of magnificent conception and elaborate ornamentation, perplex and delight the eye of the spectator, and do not offend the taste with excessive symmetry. Pierre Nepveu is the originator of this revolution. In the reign of Henry II. an approach

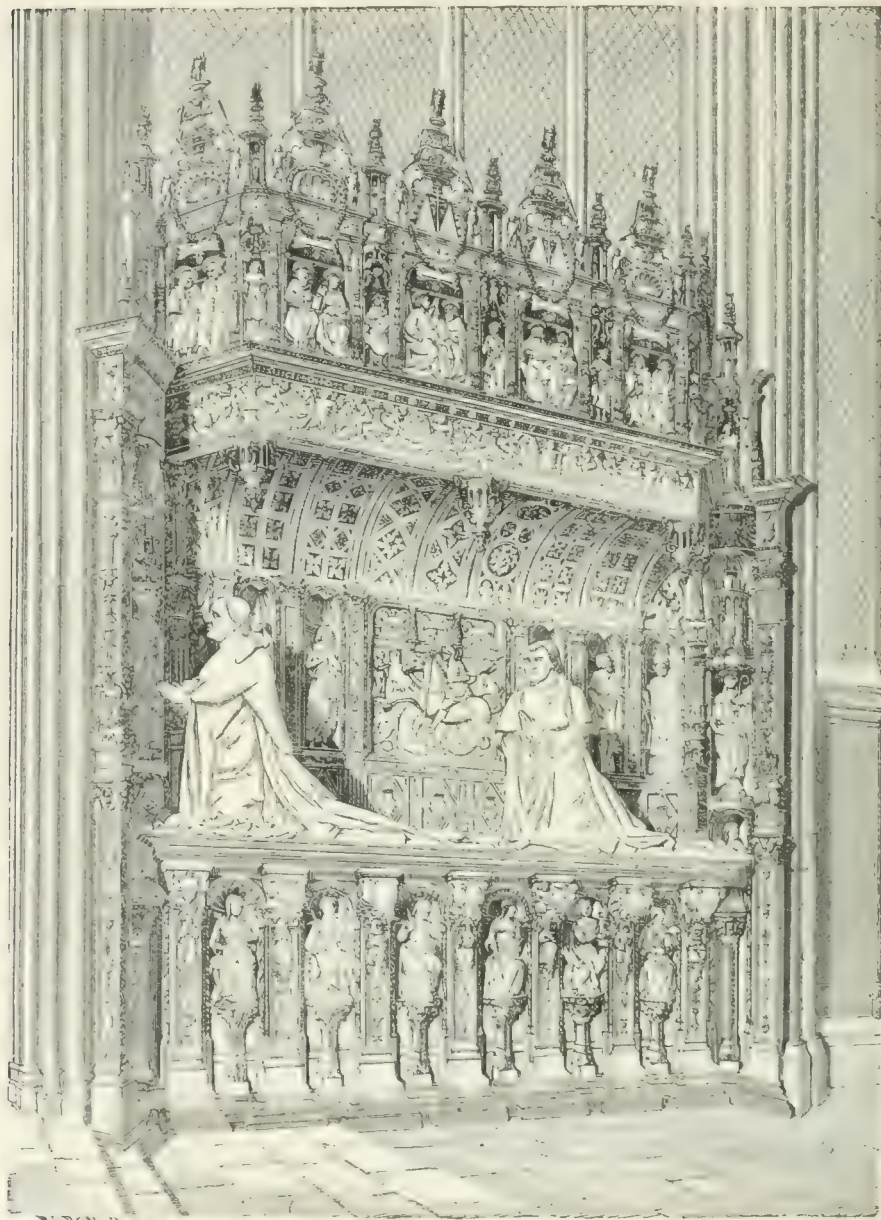


FIG. 91. Monument to the cardinals of Amboise in Rouen Cathedral. Executed in 1520-1525, one of the best works of the French Renaissance. At the left, Cardinal Georges d'Amboise 1460-1510; at the right, his nephew, Cardinal Georges d'Amboise Bussy.

PLATE X.



Francis I. of France, and his Family.

Miniature in Francis I's Prayerbook. Berlin Hamilton Collection.

Illustrations of the History of France, Vol. VI, plate 75.

was made toward the greater simplicity of the Italian school, greater consistency of style, more sober surface decorations, dignity, and grandeur. The most important artists of this new period are the Parisian Pierre Lescot, chief architect of the Louvre, in whom the fanciful art of the Renaissance found its fittest expression, chastened by the study of the antique; and Philibert Delorme, the first architect of the Tuileries.

Upon this rich, varied, promising development of the French national genius a dark shadow fell threateningly, cast by the Reformation. Francis I. was not won over to the new doctrine. In this he followed the bent of his race, which inclined rather to formalism than to genuine inner religious life, and, in spite of its fondness for novelties, was at heart quite conservative, and devoted to the traditional church. The king's persecution of Protestantism forced the latter to resort to armed resistance, and brought upon France the curse of a religious civil war.

Louis XII. and Francis I. (PLATE X.) had, on returning from their Italian campaigns, transplanted humanism to France. A brilliant array of savants, churchmen and laymen surrounded the latter prince and basked in the rays of his favor. In direct opposition to the University of Paris, which zealously championed the traditions of the Middle Ages, Francis founded the Royal College—to-day the Collège de France—which from the first was filled with zealous humanists. Here Luther's doctrines found congenial soil. The scholars read the Bible in the original, and discovered, to their amazement, how different were its simple teachings from the pompous system of the Catholic hierarchy. Pious hearts found the display and the vices of the prelates of the day little in keeping with the requirements of the Gospel. The king's own sister, Margaret, a gifted and brilliant writer, eagerly welcomed the preaching of the "pure word of God;" French translations of Luther's words were regularly sent to her—in profoundest secrecy, it is true. Louis de Berquin, Guillaume Cop, the king's physician, the famous brothers du Bellay, the young zealot Guillaume Farel, favored the new faith; even the bishops of Paris and of Meaux, and a number of priests, started on the road pointed out by Luther, with more zeal, perhaps, than discretion. But the reformers met with strong opponents in the Sorbonne, or theological faculty of the University of Paris, in Chancellor Duprat, and Louise of Savoy. Francis himself, witty and fond of show, had found it a pleasure to surround himself with brilliant scholars, but was hostile to a national religious reformation. What had he to gain by it? He was independent of the papal court; since the Concordat of 1516 his clergy obeyed him rather than the pope. A reformation, with the struggles that would inevitably accompany it, would endanger the

recently cemented unity of the state and seriously weaken its resources, and would deprive the crown of its revenue from church property.

"This sect," Francis said of the Lutherans, "and others of its sort, aim rather at the destruction of the realm than at the edification of souls." So he allowed free scope to the foes of the new faith; it was in the year 1525 that the first of the Reformers was burned at the stake. Margaret's intercession or protection was able to save but few of her friends from the executions which now became frequent. Her marriage to the titular king of Navarre, and her subsequent removal from the French court, greatly weakened her influence on Francis.

In the year 1540 the Edict of Fontainebleau ordered all judicial and police officials of all ranks to proceed energetically against the heresy, which was denounced as a crime against the state. The consequence was that all over France piles were again lighted to consume the heretics. The Lutherans were not the only objects of these persecutions. In the north of Provence there lived the Vaudois, or descendants of the old Waldenses, who, after having been long suffered to remain in peace, drew upon themselves the hostile attention of the authorities by their close relations with the leaders of the Reformation. Cardinal Tournon forced from Francis, while the latter was weak with sickness, an order for the chastisement of these obdurate heretics. Consequently, their twenty-two villages were destroyed; 3000 men were slain; 666 condemned to the galleys—all this without any resistance (April, 1545).

The following year, for the third time, religious persecutions raged all over France. By them Francis secured this result at least—during his reign Protestantism did not openly take the position of a political power within the state. But the noble perseverance of its martyrs worked efficiently, though in secret, and the Protestants soon numbered in France twenty-six large towns, whilst many of their fellow-believers had sought a temporary asylum in Geneva and Bern. Thus the enmity of the government was impressing upon French Protestantism a hostile character, which threatened great danger to France in the near future.

Meanwhile, the third Latin nation, Italy, was already in a rapid decline. Two causes had mainly contributed, at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, to the ruin of Italian independence: the great number and the mutual jealousies of the rulers; and the decay of military skill and strength. The antagonism that had arrayed Italian princes against one another ever since the struggle between Lodovico Moro of Milan and the Aragonese rulers of Naples, had paved the way for foreign interference in Italian affairs, and ultimately for the subjection of the peninsula. But for

these dissensions the expeditions of Charles VIII., Louis XII. and Francis I., and of Ferdinand the Catholic, and Charles V., would scarcely have taken place. Every foreign invader felt sure of obtaining the support of one or the other Italian party. The people of that fair land thus themselves prepared the servitude which they had all to suffer.

The Italian states, during the fifteenth century, depended, for military enterprises, almost wholly on *condottieri*, mercenary troops, whose only motive was gain. The commander of these forces owed no real allegiance to the prince or republic in whose service he happened temporarily to be. If the opponent made him a better offer, he and his mercenaries transferred their services without hesitancy. The organization of these troops, however, was, in some respects, defective. Their main strength lay in heavy cavalry; infantry was little esteemed and poorly equipped; the artillery was ineffective, on account of its clumsiness and the lack of skill of the gunners, who could not aim. These defects were, it is true, partly offset by the skill and military talents of the leaders, an Alberic of Barbiano, a Braccio Bracciani, a Francesco Sforza. And then, a most important matter, their antagonists were still under the influence of the feudal system; the ill-trained troops of knights, with their obsolete organization, could not cope with the disciplined squadrons of Italian cavalry. They were always worsted; the Italians could, therefore, look upon themselves as unquestioned masters in the art of war. For a long time they had no foreign foe to cope with, and served only in the complex political relations of their native states.

But meanwhile the world was undergoing great changes. France and Spain were creating standing armies of national troops, which consisted of choice cavalry, well-armed infantry, and improved artillery; they were as thoroughly disciplined as the *condottieri*, and, besides, were filled with burning zeal for king and country. Judge of the terror of the Italians when brought face to face with these French or Spanish soldiers, who took war in earnest, and pitilessly shot and struck at their foes to kill! The *condottieri* were scattered like chaff by these terrible adversaries. Charles VIII. in a few months made a triumphant progress from one end of the land to the other. Gonsalvo de Cordova, in an equally short time, conquered the kingdom of Naples. Italy had become incapable of defending herself. The arts of peace had choked the arts of war, and with these, national independence.

The Hapsburgs and the Spaniards had been the ones to derive permanent benefits from the conquest. Since 1530, they had been the suzerains of the whole peninsula and the immediate rulers of its fairer and richer half, Sicily, Naples, Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and many other

smaller states. The Spanish yoke bore more and more heavily on these countries. It is true that, especially in Milan, the Spaniards interfered little in the administration of the communes ; but they maintained their supremacy by means of numerous garrisons, of a complicated system of police espionage, as well as of a multitude of Spanish officials. All these Castilians, from the viceroy down to the least spy, looked contemptuously upon the Italians as a herd of slaves without any rights ; the few years they spent in Italy they spent mostly in satisfying their greed for money or their lusts. The seat of government, Madrid, was too far away to allow the complaints of the down-trodden to reach it. The Spanish master undertook no work of culture, of civilization, or of progress. Owing to this blind oppressive rule of the Spaniards Sardinia simply remained in her inherited barbarism, but Naples and Sicily decidedly retrograded. The old forms of government were here destroyed ; Spain favored the higher nobility and clergy to secure their support for her general tyranny. More than two-thirds of the soil belonged to the nobility and clergy. Besides, the taxes, mostly indirect as in Spain, bore especially on the humbler classes, which, wronged and robbed by officials and soldiers, fell into abject poverty. All religious life decayed under an idle and ignorant clergy. In one thing alone all classes, even the privileged one, did agree—hatred of Spanish tyranny.

In the duchy of Milan the Spaniards had acted with unusual moderation. Its inhabitants were far more enterprising and self-reliant than those of Southern Italy ; moreover, they were surrounded by independent states, and might in consequence more easily be lost to Spain. A large share of freedom was, therefore, left to the senate, the communes, and the higher nobility. What Spain insisted upon was sole legislative authority for the viceroy and abundant supplies of men and money for the king's service.

The majority of the nominally independent states of the peninsula were really in vassalage to Spain. The most important of these in size, in wealth, and in its fame for politics, literature, and art, was Florence. Its liberty had been lost only after a hard struggle. When the Medicean pope, Clement VII., became a fast ally of France, and was in consequence shut in within the walls of the castle of San Angelo by the imperialists, the burghers of Florence had risen in arms, banished the whole Medici family, and restored the republican form of government (1527).

In the reconciliation between Charles V. and Clement VII. (Fig. 95), in 1529, it was stipulated that Florence should be restored to Clement's family, the Medici. Charles now sought to make this condition personally profitable, by marrying young Alessandro de' Medici to

his natural daughter Margaret, and then sent his army, under Philibert of Orange, against the Tuscan city (October, 1529). The defence was heroic; then it was that Michelangelo directed the construction of the fortifications of the city. Philibert fell before the walls; but finally, as no succor came to the brave citizens, Florence surrendered, on August 12, 1530. Such was the glorious end of the Florentine republic.



FIG. 95.—Silver coin of Clement VII. Original size. This coin was struck from church utensils in the Castle San Angelo during the siege of Rome by the Constable de Bourbon, in 1527. Legend: CLEMENS · VII · PONTIF · MAX. In the field the arms of the pope (Medici), with the triple crown and the keys. Reverse: the heads of SS. Peter and Paul, with legend (S·PA(ulus) and S·PE(trus) above, and below, ALMA · ROMA), and the sign of the master of the mint. The coin is poorly struck. Since the utensils melted up for these coins were sometimes covered with gold, these scudi were remelted after the siege to separate the gold, and hence are extremely rare.

The members of the most distinguished families, the Ridolfi, Salviati, Strozzi, etc., were driven into exile by the despotic young duke. Even though Alessandro, a monster of licentiousness and cruelty, was murdered by his half-crazy cousin, Lorenzino de' Medici (1537), the only result of the deed was the transfer of the ducal dignity to the still more cruel and despotic Cosmo, then in his nineteenth year. He was a man of fine culture, and surrounded himself with the leading scholars and artists of his time, and gloriously renewed the glorious traditions of his race. But he was also a cunning and cruel tyrant; he established a rule of terror over his subjects, and made a government monopoly of the most lucrative branches of commerce, thereby extorting immense sums of money from his people. His subtle and unscrupulous craftiness overcame and destroyed all his opponents. By seizing neighboring territory and making some exchanges of land, he so rounded out his duchy that the whole of Tuscany was brought under his control.

The widow of Alessandro de' Medici, Margaret, married, soon after the death of her first husband, another Italian prince, the grandson of Pope Paul III., Octavio Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza. By

this alliance Charles made of this duchy a mere dependence of the empire; and after 1547 a Spanish garrison had held Piacenza, which was its most important fortress. Even more loyal support than the Medici did the family of Este give the emperor and Spaniards, in whom they found their only protection against the enmity of the popes; for these latter laid claims to Ferrara and Modena, in short, all the possessions of the house of Este, on the ground that they were forfeited to the church. Leo X. had, in fact, taken possession of Modena and Reggio, and it was not till 1527, after the capture of Rome, that Charles V. restored the patrimony of the Este to the famous Alfonso I., the husband of Lucrezia Borgia (Fig. 96) and protector of Ariosto. Alfonso was succeeded by



FIG. 96.—Lucrezia Borgia, as wife of Duke Alfonso Este of Ferrara. Medallion, struck in 1503, perhaps the work of the painter Filippino Lippi (1460–1505).

his son Hercules II., who, although married to Renée of France, daughter of Louis XII., yet remained true to the emperor. He was a rude and dissolute man, but he maintained the fame of his family as enlightened friends of letters and the arts; and poets, artists and scholars found a cordial welcome and generous support at his court, as at that of Cosmo I. of Florence. His brother, Cardinal Ippolito of Este, builder of the famous Villa Este at Tivoli, vied with him in this liberal course.

In 1536, the male line of Margraves of Montferrat, descended from the imperial house of the Palaeologi, became extinct. Charles treated their estates, made of special importance to him by the strong fortress of Casale, as vacant imperial fiefs, and bestowed them on the Gonzaga family, his devoted partisans. The Gonzagas were already in possession of Mantua, and thus these two territories with their important strongholds were firmly secured to the Spanish cause. The small republic of Lucca, in

Northern Tuscany, was too weak to play any important part; she had to obey the commands of the all-powerful Spaniards around her.

The same may be said of the more important republic of Genoa. Since Andrea Doria had, in 1528, gone over to the imperial side, he had kept his country faithful to the cause of Charles. As a reward, the latter gave Genoa control over the whole Ligurian coast. Doria modified the Genoese constitution in favor of the aristocracy, but persistently refused the dignity of doge offered him. In 1547, some nobles, aggrieved at the overwhelming influence of the Dorias, formed against them, under the lead of the ambitious Count Gian Luigi Fieschi, a conspiracy. They succeeded in killing Gianettino, the overbearing nephew of Andrea, but this profited them but little. The old admiral escaped, and Fieschi, in passing from one galley to another, stumbled into the sea and perished. Deprived of its head, the conspiracy fell through, and Doria retained his power till his death (1560). The rich Genoese nobles became the bankers and creditors of the Catholic king, and drew closer the union between the maritime republic and Spain, so that Genoa came to be considered as one of the vassal states of Spain.

Only three states of Italy retained a certain measure of independence: the States of the Church, the duchy of Savoy, and the republic of Venice.

The States of the Church were, in some degree, secured against the inroads of the Spaniards by their extent, their numerous population, and, still more, by the sacred character of their ruler. The Spanish king, who called himself "His Catholic Majesty," could not deal with the pope, Christ's vicar, as recklessly as with a duke of Parma or with a Genoese doge. His friendship was a matter of too great consequence. He alone could grant the right to lay taxes and tithes on the clergy, and other matters of great importance to the secular rulers; his ill-will could give rise to difficulties of all sorts. Out of their large revenues thrifty popes had succeeded in amassing treasures large enough to enable them to afford most effective aid to their allies. In extraordinary emergencies, a pope could always make large sums by selling a few cardinal's hats and as many churchly dignities and offices as he chose.

Within the papal states important changes had taken place. Alexander VI. and Julius II. had put an end to the independence of the more powerful lords, who, in former times, had been simply nominal vassals of the papal power. Bologna and Perugia, Rimini and Ancona, were now ruled by papal officers. In Urbino alone, the Della Rovere maintained their independence. The power of the great Roman families, also, with the exception of the Colonna and the Orsini, was broken. For a half century comparative security reigned in lands that had formerly been

wasted by incessant feuds and brigandage. The cultivation of the soil and of vineyards began again to flourish; the mass of the population enjoyed real comfort.

It can easily be conceded that Rome, the metropolis of Catholic Christendom (PLATE XI.), derived rich benefits from her world-wide dominion. Every one of the great families of Italy had one or more of its members who wore the cardinal's hat, and lived like a prince at Rome. Noblemen, bishops, and ecclesiastics of all kinds, from Italy and all nations of Europe, made of Rome their permanent or temporary residence. Pilgrims innumerable thronged to it, filling the coffers of its

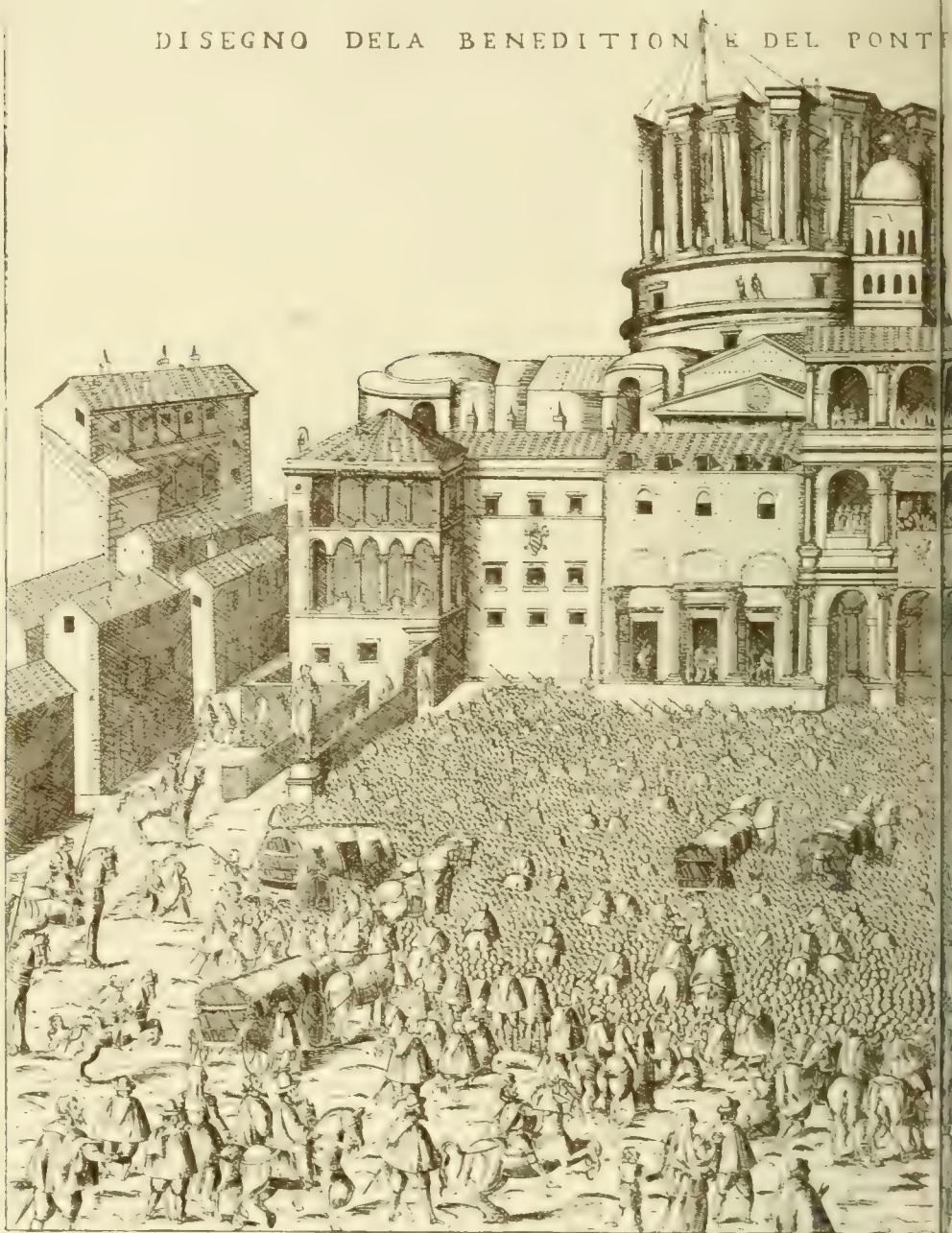


FIG. 97.—The Lion of St. Mark: on the Piazzetta of Venice.

countless churches and cloisters. Life in Rome was brilliant, cheerful, and cultured; scholars and poets, painters and sculptors, shared in its delights and owed to it much of their talent. The common people lived careless and contented on the bounty of the rich and noble. But fights between the nobles or between the papal officers and the common people were frequent; nowhere else in the peninsula were deeds of violence so common as in this capital of Christendom, the city of art and humanism.

Quite different was the aspect presented by Venice and its territory (Fig. 97). Here commerce, industry, justice, and prudent administration prevailed. While retaining control of the government of the repub-

DISEGNO DELLA BENEDIZIONE DEL PONT



The Pope blessing the populace from the Loggia of St. Peter

Faësimile of an engraving in Lafre

VICINE NELA PIAZZA DE SANTO PIETRO



Per's, before the completion of the building: about 1555.

Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae.

lie, the nobles attached to themselves the people of the Venetian state by equal, if stern, justice, and by freedom in civil and social life. Nowhere else was life so secure and pleasant as under the banner of the Lion of St. Mark. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Venice stood at the summit of her power and wealth. The city contained a population of 200,000; she possessed 300 large, and 3000 small ships; she was mistress of the mainland as far as the Adda, of the Romagna, of numerous cities on the Apulian coast, of Friuli, of Dalmatia, and of Corfu and numerous neighboring islands. In front of St. Mark's there waved upon lofty flag-poles the banners of the kingdoms of Cyprus, Candia, and Morea, won, partly by war, partly by successful commercial ventures.

The fortunes of Venice were already beginning to turn. Wealth,



FIG. 98.—Pope Julius II. On the reverse, St. Peter's, according to Bramante's design. Medal by the famous goldsmith and sculptor, Caradosso of Milan; date, 1506. (Berlin.)

luxury, and avarice were having their deteriorating effects on the character of the ruling aristocracy. The ambitious greed of the republic raised up against her many strong enemies, and led to disastrous defeats, and the loss of Apulia, the Romagna, and the valley of the Upper Adige (1508–1517). A still worse blow to the prosperity of Venice was the discovery of America, and of a direct sea-route to the East Indies, which largely diverted the world's commerce from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. In the year 1537 the Venetians were accused by Sultan Solyman of aiding his antagonist, the emperor. Left wholly unsupported by the emperor and the pope (Fig. 98) in the war which followed, the Venetians in their struggle against the vastly superior numbers of the Turks met with repeated reverses, and in October, 1540, concluded a

humiliating peace by which they surrendered to the Ottomans the Morea, including all the neighboring islands which they had held, and pledged themselves to pay the victors 300,000 ducats. After these disasters the Venetians gave up warlike enterprises and devoted themselves to diplomacy and to the cultivation of the arts, for which their city henceforth became famous. It was in this age that the graceful Loggetta on the eastern side of the Tower of St. Mark was constructed; that Sansovino erected the Library on the Piazzetta, an edifice that must surely be reckoned among the finest and noblest secular buildings of the Italian Renaissance; that Palladio began the church of San Giorgio Maggiore; and that the master painters of the Venetian school composed their magnificent works. Thus to her old commercial and warlike fame Venice added fame in the arts. In many respects she was the most cultivated, we might say the most modern, state in Europe.

In a far different condition, at the opposite end of Upper Italy, was the duchy of Savoy, with its dependencies of Piedmont and Nice. This once warlike country, which for centuries, under the rule of sovereigns as politic as brave, had grown uninterruptedly in extent and power, conquering Geneva, the Valais, and the neighboring parts of present France nearly as far as Lyons, experienced repeated disasters under the long and disastrous reign of Charles III. (1504–1553). Geneva, Valais, and Vaud were lost to the Swiss; the French seized Savoy proper, and the larger part of Piedmont, the imperialists holding the remainder. Charles thus became a landless prince, and it looked as if Savoy was to be stricken out of the list of European states. But we shall see how later, under Emanuel Philibert, it arose again, though not in all its former power.

To name Rome and Venice is enough to prove that the Italy of the first half of the sixteenth century, in spite of its political deterioration and backwardness, still remained at the head of Europe in literature and the fine arts. Italian was known and spoken by all cultivated men at the court of Henry VIII. and of Elizabeth, as well as in Paris, Madrid, Vienna, or Constantinople. The works of Italian poets and historians were read with eagerness and delight.

At the opening of this epoch the influence of the classics and the paganism of the ancients is very strongly marked. The favorite of Leo X., Bernardo Dovizzi of Bibbiena, a cardinal, wrote a comedy entitled "*Calandra*," in imitation of the *Menæchmi* of Plautus, but in obscenity and indecency far exceeding the Latin work. Yet this lewd production was produced with great applause in the papal palace and before the very eyes of the pontiff. Leo's gifts to scholars, poets, and artists were

unbounded, and these swarmed into his palaces, absorbing his time and emptying his coffers. Clement VII., also a Medici, followed Leo's example as far as the troublous circumstances of his time allowed. He invited to Rome Pietro Aretino (Fig. 99), the wittiest and most brilliant, but also the most licentious writer of the Renaissance. The classical



FIG. 99.—Pietro Aretino. From the engraving by Marc Antonio Raimondi (about 1475-1527).

pagan tendency is also illustrated in the so-called "learned comedies" (*commedia erudita*), such as the "Clizia" and the "Mandragola" of Machiavelli (Fig. 101), in imitation of Plautus, like Bibbiena's "Calandra," but far surpassing it in wit and sharpness of characterization.

By the side of this school of the older Renaissance there arose a modern, national movement, which grew fast in popular favor, and, be-

fore long, supplanted the older school. It originated largely with Francesco Berni, the gifted founder of humanistico-burlesque poetry, called,



FIG. 100. Ariosto. Facsimile of the engraving by Enea Vico (about 1512-1570).

from him, *Poesia Bernesca*. His witty satirical sonnets, *Capitoli*, are full of a genuine national spirit, and bear witness to the patriotism of the

author. A still more brilliant representative of this new epoch was Lodovico Ariosto (Fig. 100) of Reggio in Modena (1474–1553). His mind, thoroughly cultivated by thorough classical studies, was yet permeated with modern national impulses, and was thus prepared to bring forth original and enduring creations of its own. In addition to this the

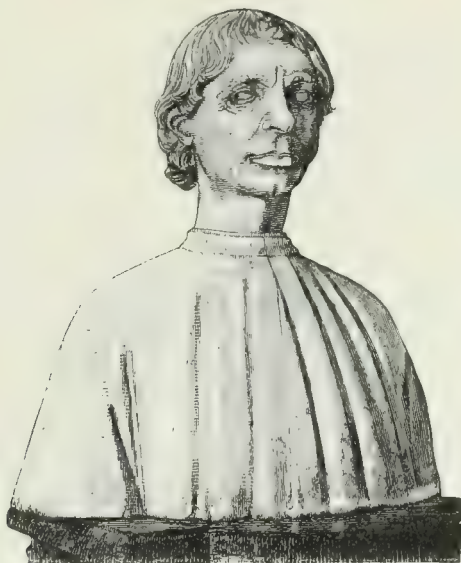


FIG. 101.—Machiavelli. Terracotta bust in Berlin.

poet possessed an inexhaustible fertility of imagination, a profound knowledge of the human heart, wonderful powers of description, and an enchantingly graceful style. No one who has enjoyed Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, with its apparently artless and easy-flowing verses, can imagine with what scrupulous conscientiousness and unwearying patience they were wrought and polished. In this respect, as in many others, Ariosto reminds us of Heine. The *Furioso*, published in 1515, became for the Italians the standard of genuine poetry—in a few years it passed through five editions, a rare thing in those days. Ariosto's other works—his comedies, sonnets, canzone, satires—are to-day nearly forgotten, though some of them deserve a better fate.

The popular comedy, most inaptly called *Commedia dell' arte*, had a more vigorous being than the learned comedy. A single plot gathers around a few stock characters: Pantaleone, the upright old man; the sly servant, Brighella; stuttering Tartaglia, etc.; the details were left to the ingenuity of the players. This kept the *Commedia dell' arte* in con-

stant accord with the popular taste, and, indeed, these pieces were in large measure in the popular dialect. Though often coarse, they are rich in racy, vigorous jokes and genuine comic power, and they have not seldom outlived their more learned rivals.

The number of lyric poets at this epoch is legion, but their productions are seldom of a high degree of excellence. After the Venetian Bembo, an imitator of Petrarch, and Michelangelo, whose inexhaustible genius and fertility are not belied in his sonnets, the first place undoubtedly belongs to Vittoria Colonna, a woman equally distinguished by high birth, beauty and pre-eminent talents. Left a widow in her thirty-fifth year, by the death of her husband, the Marquis of Pescara, who was mortally wounded in the battle of Pavia, she remained faithful to his memory and lived a life devoted to poetry, study and intercourse with the most gifted minds of her time. Though admired by all, her highest title to fame is, after all, that she was honored by the respectful friendship of Michelangelo. Ariosto dedicated to her some stanzas of his *Orlando*. Her poems, mostly of a religious character, exhibit originality of thought, but, like nearly all the lyrics of that day, they bear too strongly the impress of Petrarch, and seem sometimes an almost slavish imitation of his work.

The prose writers of this period are no less noteworthy than the poets. The bright, graceful, but lewd *novelle*, or tale, that Boccaccio had made fashionable throughout Europe, was the form chosen by many writers—Bandello, Firenzuola and hosts of others. Of a more serious cast were the disquisitions—many of them in the form of dialogues—on philosophic themes or questions of practical life, in imitation of Plato or Cicero. To this class belong Pietro Bembo's "*Asolani*," concerning love; the Florentine Gelli's "*Letters*" on Dante and Petrarch, and his "*Fancies*," which treat religion and philosophy from a free-thinking standpoint, and were, in consequence, condemned by the Inquisition; the "*Courtier*" of Count Castiglione, which, in exquisite language, defines the character and duties of an accomplished man of the world and the court, and presents an excellent picture of the culture of the time.

This epoch is also that of the great historians of Italy. Following the example of Machiavelli, whose calm, penetrating genius had opened a new road to history, Paolo Giovio of Como and Francesco Guicciardini of Florence dealt with the events of their own times. Paolo Emilio wrote on the history of France, Polydore Vergil on that of England, Lodovico Guicciardini on the Netherlands—works that are still highly prized. Among the numerous special histories of individual states of Italy, the

most famous is undoubtedly Machiavelli's "Florentine Histories," written at the request of Clement VII.

In the first part of the sixteenth century the fine arts are still in a brilliant age, though a decay soon begins under the pontificate of Leo X. It is characteristic of the times that artistic pre-eminence, which had



FIG. 102.—Michelangelo. Facsimile of an etching by an unknown Italian master, long supposed to be by Michelangelo himself.

heretofore belonged to Florence, passes next to Rome, and then to Venice. The Eternal City then, as formerly, had few native artists. The liberal protection of the popes, and the noble tasks entrusted to artists, drew many of the best to Rome, and as soon as they came within

the magic circle of the wonderful city they were as if chained to it, and possessed of its spirit. It had been so with Raphael, with Michelangelo (Fig. 102), with the great architect, Bramante. This was the golden age of architecture in Rome. Grounded on a thorough study of antiquity, profoundly penetrated with its forms and spirit, but free from servile imitation, the Italian architects wrought those noble, symmetrical works in which are so harmoniously combined enormous proportions, severe regularity, and massive beauty. It was at this time that Bramante's pupil, Peruzzi, built the charming Villa Farnese and the Massimi palace with its picturesque court. Raphael, Michelangelo, Giulio Romano, were as original and powerful in architecture as in the other arts. The two former, as well as Peruzzi, worked at the mighty church of St. Peter. As, in Venice and her subject towns, Jacopo Sansovino and Palladio found a field for incessant activity, so, in the rival maritime republic of Genoa, Galeazzo Alessi erected the superb palaces of the Spinola, Sauli, and other noble families, palaces that still give to Genoa her characteristic architectural magnificence.

Julius II. transplanted the art of great monumental sculpture to Rome by entrusting Michelangelo with the task of preparing for him a gigantic mausoleum. It is well known that the indifference of his successors sadly interfered with the execution of this design, but there are left many wonderful fragments of it, such as Moses about to break the Tables of the Law, and by its side Rachel and Leah, symbolizing the contemplative and the active life. By order of Leo X. the tombs of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici were erected in Florence—mighty though somewhat exaggerated monuments—which show the defiant wrath of their great author at the overthrow of the liberties of his native city.

A man greatly over-praised—especially by himself—as sculptor and goldsmith is Benvenuto Cellini. After spending several years in Rome he removed to France, where he stayed until his death. It was, however, in its more especially modern form, painting, that art in the sixteenth century reached its greatest height. The last years of Leo X. saw the death of Raphael Santi (Fig. 103) in the very prime of his power (1520). His numerous pupils inherited but little of his genius, and degenerated either into effeminate mannerism like Giulio Romano, or into unrestrained rudeness and coarseness. Michelangelo, on the contrary, kept on producing great works till the most advanced age. When past sixty (1540) he painted the Last Judgment, in the Sistine Chapel, the most powerful and perhaps the most perfect of all paintings. Following his designs, Sebastiano del Piombo painted the grandly conceived and nobly executed canvases on Old Testament subjects that are now among

the jewels of the galleries of London, Paris, and Florence. By the side of Raphael and Michelangelo, somewhat younger and of less towering genius, comes Andrea del Sarto. He remained true to his native city,

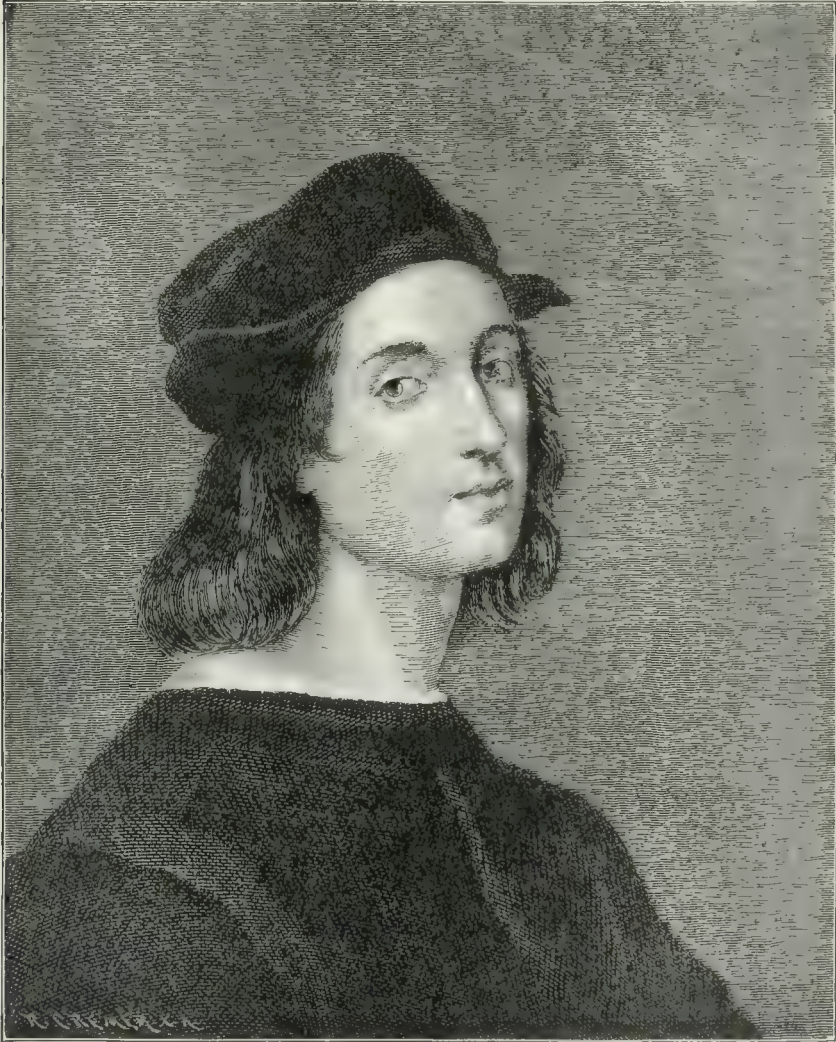


FIG. 103.—Raphael. Painting by himself, in Florence. From the drawing by Steinle.

Florence (1487–1531). Freshness, simplicity, and delicacy, and, above all, an incomparable brilliancy of coloring and shading, give to this master his peculiar stamp and secure for him a high place in the golden age of Italian painting. Francis I. tried in vain to attach him to the

French court. He confined himself to sacred paintings, and to this day his works produce upon the beholder the most profound and stirring effect. He founded a school that, however, did not long remain at the height he had reached. Antonio Allegri (1494–1534), who took his name from the little town of Correggio, was a countryman of Ariosto, and not unlike the author of the *Orlando Furioso* in wealth of fancy, in overflowing humor, and in charm of style. He paints neither the lofty nor the mighty, but the everlasting charm of simple beauty. His works are bathed in a sea of light and of luminous haze, sometimes in brilliant clearness, sometimes in a delicious chiaroscuro, and all forms and colors combine in perfect harmony. In his use of perspective and foreshortening he is unequalled. He wrought his most finished works, canvases as well as frescos, in Parma. His pupils soon transformed his style, which readily enough lent itself to this, into coquettish sweetness and lifeless affectation.

The latest but most enduring among the great Italian schools of the sixteenth century is the Venetian. The splendid pomp and proud consciousness that had once characterized Venice and Venetian life in general, reappear in a peculiar and ennobled form in her art. To represent natural beauty strongly and nobly; to glorify it in bright, warm tones; to bestow upon it a quiet and noble stateliness: such was the aim of Venetian artists, and most successfully did they reach it. Following Giorgione (died 1511) came the greatest master of the school, Titian (Tiziano) Vecelli (1487–1576) (Fig. 104). He carried the principles of the school—to which he remained true during all his life—to a height unknown before. He combines colors with incomparable and bewildering effect. A number of his frescos and of his best pictures have been destroyed by fire, but his “Burial,” now in the Louvre; his “Madonna with the Saints,” in Dresden; his various representations of Venus, and his portraits still enchant the beholder. He never forsakes nature, although he ennoble and beautifies her, and consequently his great influence on his contemporaries and successors has been most happy.

The Italy of the sixteenth century is made glorious by an art which in purity, nobleness, and richness has never been surpassed by any nation at any time. Popes, princes, nobles, republics vied with one another in the erection of noble edifices and in the adorning of them with the best works of painters and sculptors. These works were not then crowded together in museums, where each encroaches upon the other; where the eye, dazzled and satiated, finally becomes blind to their charm; where you must look for masterpieces sometimes at your feet, sometimes near the ceiling far above you; where works of art, torn away from

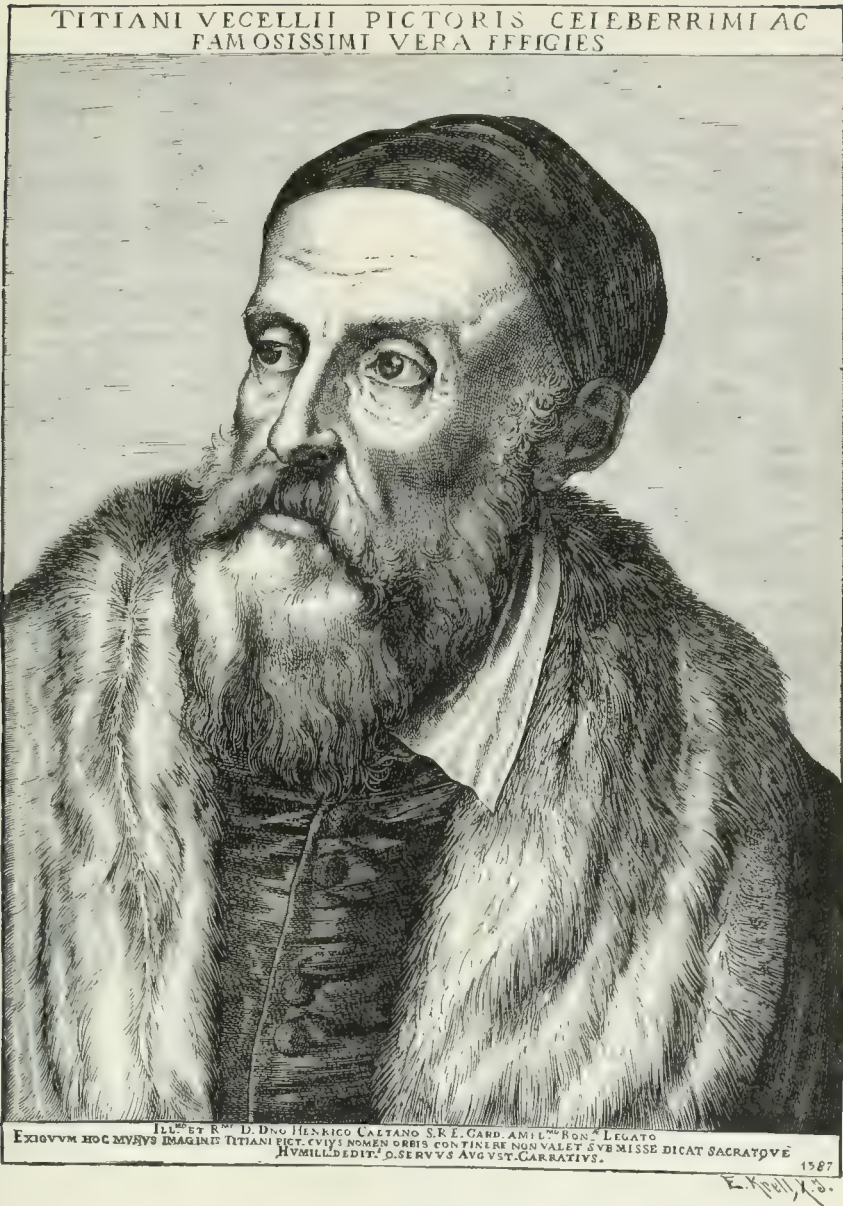


FIG. 104.—Titian Vecelli. Engraving by Agostino Carracci (1558–1601).

the surroundings to which they were adapted, thus lose the best part of their effect. The artist knew for whom and for what he wrought—whether for halls of state, or for the dwellings and studies of the great ;

whether for a church or the refectory of a rich convent; whether for the city hall of a powerful republic, or for the villa of a prince; and knowing it, adapted his work accordingly. Does the sculptor or the painter of to-day know whether his creation will find its way to the museum of a city, to the gorgeous parlor of an American millionaire, or to the gallery of a Berlin or Paris banker? He works wholly on speculation, usually to please the taste that happens to rule in the market. The art of the sixteenth century, sought and honored by the great and by the church, assumed a lofty character in Europe at large, but nowhere else was its unfolding so noble and rich as in Italy.

The development of Latin Europe was quite different from that of the German-Scandinavian nations; it followed in the lines of politics, science, the arts—things that concern the outer life; it had less to do with the religious element. But this was not to last long; the Latin races also were soon to be drawn into the great Reformation movement originating in Germany. The struggles to which it gave rise were to destroy many of the fairest and most promising blossoms of which we have just seen the unfolding.

BOOK II.

CALVINISM AND THE COUNTER-
REFORMATION.

CALVINISM AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FOUNDING OF THE ORDER OF JESUITS, AND THE REVIVAL OF THE PAPAL INQUISITION.

BY the middle of the sixteenth century Protestantism was triumphant. The whole of Germanic Europe was full of it, and it was beginning to take root among Latin races, following in part in the steps of humanism, which previously had had a decidedly anti-religious, or, to be more correct, unreligious character. Its progress was, it is true, impeded in many places by the temporal arm, which endeavored, by means of the sword and the fagot, to uphold a tottering church, but in vain. From the blood of martyrs arose new believers. And then what could the brute force of princes avail against the gradual process of disintegration within the church itself? Neither king nor emperor could save it; its own wounds and its own sins were bearing it to the ground. Catholicism was lost, unless it could find within itself elements and men to save it from itself, and to restore to it what it had for centuries been gradually losing:—faith, conviction, enthusiasm, all that makes spiritual leaders strong, and secures to them the devoted attachment of the masses. Thousands of far-sighted and pious Catholics had long recognized this fact, and were asking with ever-increasing insistence for a radical reform of the church. Charles V. had shared in this request with a depth of conviction that did not wholly exclude political considerations. But the leaders of the church, the popes from Leo X. to Paul III., had done absolutely nothing to answer this demand, with the single exception of Adrian VI., whose reformatory efforts during his brief pontificate had no permanent results.

The impulse to reform proceeded from the lower classes of the clergy. It began with the regular clergy. At first of little significance, its consequences were weighty owing to the fervent request for morality and true piety to which it gave rise all over the Catholic world. The first of these new reform movements began with Matteo of Bassi, and

affected the great and popular order of Franciscans (1525). Pope Clement VII. granted to the reformers in this order permission to establish a special congregation, which, as a token of its return to the observances and spirit of the great founder of the brotherhood, St. Francis of Assisi, adopted the long pointed hood or cowl (Italian *capuccio*) which he is represented as wearing in all his portraits, and which has obtained for his followers the name of Capuchins. They bound themselves to the greatest poverty and simplicity in garment and in food, as well as in houses and churches. Every kind of provision for the future was strictly forbidden them—they must daily beg the necessities of life from the faithful. Indeed, their zeal, the remarkable conversions that followed their preaching, the care they bestowed upon the poor during the epidemics that were then not infrequent, won them universal regard and an ever-increasing accession of members. Italy was the special field of their activity. Here the Capuchins really became the friends, comforters, and spiritual guides of the people, and in its necessities during famines or pestilences or the terrors of war they came faithfully to its relief. By such labors they contributed much to keep the lower classes of the peninsula faithful to Catholicism, and this entitles them to be reckoned among the elements that have had the largest share in reviving and reforming the old faith.

The Capuchins devoted themselves to the spiritual care of the people; another religious brotherhood concerned itself with the material welfare of the poor and the unfortunate. This was the order of the Brethren of Mercy, founded in the year 1540 by the Portuguese Juan de Dio. From humble beginnings it has become one of the noblest creations and most precious ornaments of Catholicism. Without aiming directly at religious and political results, the Brethren of Mercy, by their modest virtues and by the unwearying services rendered by them to the suffering and forsaken, have done more for the upholding of Catholicism than a hundred bishops or doctors of theology.

Still, these communities cannot compare, in their direct efficiency in reviving the old faith, with the orders of regular priests founded about the same time. The example and pattern for these orders of a new kind is that of the Theatins, founded by Gaetan of Thiene, a member of the papal court. The rapid spread of heresy filled him with profound grief, and so with sixty other priests and prelates of like sentiments he formed in Rome itself a society whose members should prepare themselves by religious practices and study to reclaim by preaching the doubters and the heretics. This society they called the Oratory of Divine Love. Eager to put an end to the decline of the church, and,

like many others, thinking the cause of this lay mainly in the corruption of the secular clergy who had specially in charge the care of souls and the guidance of consciences, Gaetan decided to correct this evil by founding an institute destined to reform radically the life, manners, and culture of the priesthood. But it is doubtful whether Gaetan possessed the energy, the spiritual gifts, and the personal influence to reach his aim unaided. Fortunately, he met a prelate who was better adapted to this than himself.

This was Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, born in the year 1476 of one of the most distinguished and wealthy families of the kingdom of Naples. This gifted youth was destined by his father either for an important secular position or a high church dignity. His own ardent piety would have led him to join the Dominican order as a humble member, but in obedience to his father's will he entered upon the career of a secular priest, for which he sought to fit himself by profound and comprehensive studies. In 1504 he obtained the bishopric of Chieti, hereditary in his family. His family connections and his own worth secured for him the very important positions of nuncio, first to Spain, then to England, and finally the archbishopric of Brindisi. Full of ardor and zeal, he joined the Oratory of Divine Love, and published pamphlets attacking the Lutheran heresy. The exclusively worldly temper of Clement VII. grieved him deeply, and he despaired of accomplishing anything for the restoration of the church with papal aid. He welcomed, therefore, with real joy, the reformatory plans of his former companion in the Oratory, Gaetan of Thiene, and formed an intimate friendship and alliance with him. After repeated requests he obtained of the pope permission to give up his two bishoprics, and to devote himself, in voluntary poverty, to the reformation of the secular clergy. The pope, however, insisted on his retaining the rank and title of Bishop of Chieti.

Associated with the gentle, humble Gaetan, the practical, worldly-wise, almost violent Caraffa soon assumed the leadership. No doubt, the original plan of action must be ascribed to Gaetan, but it was the Bishop of Chieti that made its realization possible. The two founded a community, not of monks, but of priests, who lived together, bound by the three conventual oaths of poverty, chastity and obedience, but adding thereto practical worldly aims; and they were free from all the forms and ceremonies that absorb most of the time of the cloistered monk. They were consequently called the Congregation of Regular Priests. The prime object of the congregation was to show to the clergy the way to reform, by the irresistible power of good example, by the manifestation of that moral perfection which lay at the foundation of the idea of the Catholic

clergy. Besides this, Caraffa, who, to his sincere piety joined an ardent ambition, wished to make his congregation a training school for bishops and high church dignitaries, who, in their influential positions, might the more effectually labor for the elevation of the clergy subject to them. The whole institution was aristocratic in character; Caraffa by no means desired large numbers, and was very careful in admitting new members. Really the congregation consisted almost exclusively of high-born youths, who left it only to assume important clerical functions. Caraffa had so evidently become the soul of the enterprise that he was chosen as its first provost, and the whole community was named Theatin, from his see of Chieti (Theate, or Teate). They labored mostly in Italy, where their influence on the clergy was strong and beneficial, and where they made many conquests over Lutheranism.

Other similar congregations arose: the Barnabites, who worked especially for the conversion of heretics, thousands of whom they brought back into the church in Italy, France, and Bohemia; the Fathers of Sommasquo, in Upper Italy, devoted to the care of orphans and to education. The founding of these various orders is proof of the reawakening of religious sentiment and of the Catholic spirit, especially in Italy. But not one of these brotherhoods can compare in importance and in greatness of results with that which was nearly the youngest of all—the Society of Jesus.

It was the offspring of the union of a glowing, fanatical piety, with the spirit of chivalrous adventure so characteristic of Spain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A captain of Charles V. became the founder of an order destined to combine war with religion, and to combat the enemies of the faith with weapons of all kinds.

Don Inigo—or later, Ignatius—Lopez de Recalde, was born in 1491, in the castle of Loyola, in the Basque province of Guipuzcoa. He came of a noble family, but being the youngest of thirteen children he grew up without a solid education, as he had to earn his bread as soldier and courtier. He entered the service of a grandee, the Duke of Najara. His romantic spirit and his young heart were at first full of chivalrous ideas, love adventures, deeds of arms, warlike renown, the desire to shine with armor and horses—in such things as these he sought to surpass all his companions.

In the year 1521 the French attacked Navarre and besieged the capital, Pamplona, where Loyola was on garrison duty and where he distinguished himself by his stubborn courage. When, after the capture of the town, the victorious Frenchmen stormed the citadel, he stood boldly in the breach till a bullet shattered his right leg at the very

moment when a fragment of stone wounded him in the left foot (May 20, 1521). The Spaniards laid down their arms. Loyola was treated with great consideration and allowed to go to his father's castle near Pamplona. The surgery of the times was very imperfect, the broken bones were so badly set that they had to be broken anew twice; no wonder Loyola remained lame as long as he lived. He bore his terrible sufferings with heroic patience.

To while away his loneliness and to forget his pain, he took to reading, and as the castle furnished no other literature, he studied the lives of saints and martyrs. His ardent imagination, already over-excited by the fever of his wounds, was set on fire by these legends; his ambition took a new direction. His lameness closed permanently against him the door to military glory; so he made up his mind to emulate the wonderful deeds of the martyrs, and thus secure for himself earthly glory and a heavenly crown.

Almost before his wounds were healed, he hastened, quite against the wishes of his family (March, 1522), to render his decision irrevocable by taking the oath of chastity and abstinence, and by making his first pilgrimage to the miraculous picture of the Madonna, up the steep heights of Montserrat, near Barcelona. Here he hung up his arms, as a votive offering; gave away his rich garments to a beggar, and put on the garb of a mendicant friar. He wished to start for the Holy Land, there to labor for the conversion of the infidels, but a pestilence delayed his sailing, and he withdrew to the little town of Manresa, in Catalonia, where in prayer and penance he awaited the hour of departure. There he underwent a crisis not unlike that which twenty years before had driven Luther to the verge of despair. In the Dominican monastery of Manresa he subjected himself to terrible scourgings, hoping thus to make himself more like the saints into whose company he fervently prayed to be received. But the more harshly he treated his body, the more diseased became his imagination, which represented to him his sins as an insuperable obstacle in the way of his purpose. He wept day and night, and was at times tempted to hurl himself from the window of his cell down to the street below. Luther was saved from similar temptations by a confident faith in God, by a full reliance in God's word, and in the infinite grace of the Redeemer; Loyola, by his fanaticism, his ambition, and the memories of the wonderful adventures of knights and saints with which his brain was filled. He had numerous visions and fancied he saw in them that gloomy thoughts came to him from the devil, but helpful and edifying images from God. His recovery from a second severe illness he considered as an evident miracle, and he

began a new life with increased confidence. Asceticism and self-torture now appeared to him a wrong against the Creator, who has made the body to be the inseparable companion and instrument of the spirit ; one must rather, he said, care for the body and keep it efficient for the service of God.

After he had thus found internal peace, his visions became more brilliant. He imagined he saw Jesus and the Virgin ; the most secret mysteries of religion became for him tangible realities to be seen with the bodily eye. Ten months were spent thus in Manresa. Then he went on a pilgrimage to Italy, and thence, at last, to Palestine. What a change in the destinies of Europe if he had executed his plan and devoted himself to missionary labors in the Holy Land, and perhaps found there a martyr's death ! But meeting with nothing but rebuffs on the part of the heads of the Catholic clergy in Jerusalem, who feared this rash fanatic might embroil them with their Turkish rulers, Loyola returned, after undergoing indescribable privations, to his native land.

The experiences of this journey convinced him that to accomplish anything effectual he must first acquire solid and extensive knowledge, and humbly but persistently he took his seat among children at school, though over thirty years of age. During three years of elementary study at Barcelona, as later in the universities of Alcalá and Salamanca, he began to give religious instruction, to preach in the streets, to gather from among pious women and youths followers who revered him as their guide, and showered their gifts upon him. The Inquisition looked with suspicion upon this lay teacher of religion, and twice cast him into its dungeons for weeks at a time, liberating him at length only on his promise to study theology for four years before he began to teach and preach again. These trials embittered him against his native land, and he determined to leave it and complete his religious education in the Sorbonne, at Paris, then the most famous theological faculty in the world. He performed the journey to Paris on foot, in mid-winter, arrived there in February, 1528, and at once resumed his studies with intense ardor. To enhance his merits his biographers claim that he was destitute of all means of support, and had to beg his bread from door to door ; but his correspondence proves beyond question that he regularly requested and received aid from his friends in Barcelona. During his vacations he travelled in Belgium and even in England, to procure considerable sums of money, more by far than his simple needs required.

But this money helped him toward realizing the aim that grew daily more definite and clear to his mind : the founding of a new order for the

spread of the Catholic faith. It is worthy of note that Loyola won most of his earlier companions, such as Pierre Lefèvre, a poor Savoyard, Laynez, Salmeron, Bobadilla, equally poor Spaniards, by giving them alms. He used other means, but means no less successful, to secure Francisco Xavier, the learned Navarrese, and the noble Portuguese, Simon Rodriguez of Azevedo. Once secured, they were made his docile tools, by stern religious discipline, fastings, and bodily mortifications.

His first object was at last obtained. On August 15, 1534, he, with his companions named above, founded the new order by assuming the ordinary vows. Soon two Frenchmen and another Savoyard joined them, swelling the number to a full ten. So modest and humble were the beginnings of the order.

Two years more were spent by the members in study and in setting their worldly affairs in order. Then, in January, 1537, according to agreement, they met in Venice, there to embark for the Holy Land. But a war between Venice and the sultan delayed them. At this juncture Loyola met Caraffa and the Theatins, who, after the sacking of Rome, had retired to Venice and were zealously busying themselves among the sick and the poor. He made the college of the Theatins his home, and labored in their hospitals with all the ardor of his character. He thought then that he had found the proper occupation of a soldier of God in the aims of this community, especially in preaching and teaching. But the limits assigned by Caraffa seemed to him altogether too narrow, which caused many bitter disputes, and, at length, an open rupture between Loyola and the Theatine bishop. This, however, did not prevent Loyola from borrowing of the Theatins many of their characteristic features for his order, which was to be, like theirs, a congregation of regular priests. In consequence of this last feature, Loyola and his companions took priestly orders.

As no favorable opportunity of reaching Palestine presented itself, Loyola, at length, and seemingly without much regret, definitely abandoned the idea. In the autumn of 1537 he and his companions went to Rome to obtain from the pope the confirmation of the new society. It was then that Ignatius found a suitable name for it; he resolved to call it the Company (or Society) of Jesus, "a cohort or century, organized to fight against spiritual foes"—"men devoted body and soul to our Lord Jesus Christ, as well as to his true and legitimate vicergerent on the earth." The whole future efficiency of the society is already implied in this bold and proud surname, and the interpretation that the founder gave to it. There is no mistaking its aggressive military character.

But this very thing proved a serious hindrance to its success in

Rome. It is true that Paul III., who, in this matter, saw more clearly than the majority of the Roman prelates where lay the true interests of the church, personally showed it nothing but good-will, but it was bitterly assailed by numerous opponents. It was openly accused of heresy, and a formal charge brought against Loyola. But his steadfast fearlessness, and the impression that his fiery and confident speech made on the pope and the cardinals, secured him a victory over his accusers.

Loyola thought the time had now come to give his society a final constitution. To the two former vows of chastity and poverty, a third was added: unconditional obedience. Loyola's military training and experience had taught him the importance of obedience for any association. As this powerful organization was to be in the service of the papacy, a fourth oath was added to the other three: "to consecrate their lives to the constant service of Christ and of the popes, to serve exclusively the Lord and the Roman pontiff, His earthly representative, binding themselves to do, without hesitation or excuses, whatever the pope should command them." Loyola collected in five chapters the resolutions thus adopted, and presented them to the Holy Father for confirmation (September, 1539).

But here also the distrust and opposition of the most influential cardinals met him; he had to wait a whole year for the confirmation, but still he did not give up hope. Finally, on September 27, 1540, at the intercession of some of Loyola's influential friends, Paul issued the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*, which granted to the constitution of the order—with a few insignificant limitations—the apostolic assent.

It goes without saying that Loyola was chosen as first general of the order. "He has borne us all in Jesus Christ and fed us with his own milk," said Salmeron on his ballot. Ignatius, who could not decently vote for himself, cast a blank ballot, evidently not to oppose his own candidacy. The newly-appointed general was well fitted to lead the society to rapid success. In his thin face and broad brow there was evident power; his eyes were small, but fiery and cunning; his Roman nose and mouth indicated energy and strength; and his dark olive complexion proved him a Spaniard (Fig. 105).

Loyola was firmly convinced of the righteousness of the cause for which he fought. He thought himself chosen of God to destroy His enemies and to restore the power and honor of the true church to their old lustre. He had stifled within himself every other wish, every other interest except that of serving God, which for him meant the Roman Church. In this cause he displayed a persistency and vigor of action that nothing could weary. He bore all fatigues, privations, and the scorn and con-

tumely of the world with proud humility. He consecrated himself wholly to his great task, and to it he sacrificed every other consideration. "Self-abnegation," he said, "is better than raising the dead to life." In such a struggle he knew no fear: "No storm is so dangerous as a calm, no foe so dangerous as to have no foe." His cause seemed to him so holy and of such incomparable importance that he held all means proper to further it. "Proper prudence," he said to himself, "combined with moderate sanctity, is worth more than a greater degree of sanctity with less prudence."

Are not all the errors into which the Jesuits were to fall implied in these words, words which sound so strange in the mouth of a man who had once been a mystic? He taught his disciples the art of catching souls. "A good hunter for souls must at first let many things go by in silence, as if he had not perceived them; later, when he has once made himself master of the will, he can direct his pupil whithersoever he pleases." "Loyola cared less," said his secretary, Father Polanco, "for natural goodness than for firmness of character and aptness for affairs,



FIG. 105.—Medal with portrait of Loyola. Legend: IGNAT(IVS) SOCIET(ATIS) IESV FVNDA(T)OR. Original size. (Berlin.)

in those who wished to join this society; for he was of opinion that men not qualified for public affairs were not suited to the work of our society." Piety evidently was of slight value in what concerned the temporal interests of the company. In an official document Polanco, in the name of his general, requires of the novice "good natural endowments and capacity, either for science or for external good works;" he wants young men of fine appearance, of an agreeable exterior, "as our mode of life and our relation to our neighbors demand." Not a word about genuine piety as a condition for those who ask to join the company. Intelligence, worldly wisdom, and a fair exterior are what Loyola requires.

Thanks to Loyola's skilful guidance, the order grew with uncommon

rapidity. Six years after its foundation it was known all over the world, and its members were reckoned by hundreds. The popes constantly added to the privileges of an association that proved itself so useful to the papacy and to Catholicism in general. The Jesuits were authorized to preach, hear confessions, and give the communion everywhere; they enjoyed all the privileges of the monastic orders, whilst relieved from many obligations and restrictions; any one who should attack their rights and constitutions was threatened with excommunication.

But Loyola sought the favor of temporal powers no less than of the popes. He spared neither humble assurances of devotion nor flattering obsequiousness to win princes and their ambassadors. He promised them the support and assistance of the society if they would favor it. He promised to procure from the pope the conveyance to them of extensive estates taken from the other communities, provided they promised to give a part of them to the society. The Jesuits were the favorite confessors of the princes. One of them having been somewhat strict with Cosmo de' Medici received a sharp reprimand from Loyola: "You must," said he, "consult in all things the good pleasure of your noble penitent, so as to reap thereby more spiritual profit among the people." Such methods won the Jesuits great influence with important men, which they knew well how to use for their own aggrandizement.

The company grew rapidly. In Rome itself, Ignatius founded in 1550 the first residence of the order, destined by him to be the mother-house of the whole company. This is the famous "*Collegium Romanum*," the central seminary of the society. In 1552, with the help of the papacy, the "*Collegium Germanicum*" was founded for the reconquest of Germany.

Outside of Italy it was important that the order be introduced into the countries which were still Catholic, that it might gain new adherents. But here many difficulties were encountered. Neither the Emperor Charles V. nor the Spanish clergy would have anything to do with the bold, cunning intruders, the unconditionally devoted champions of the Holy See. Although, aided by the fanaticism of the Spanish national character, the Jesuits gradually overcame this opposition, in France and the Netherlands they clashed directly with popular feeling, which made the planting of the organization difficult there.

Only in Portugal were they received with enthusiasm, and here in a short time actually made themselves full lords of state and land. In Germany, Ferdinand I., the king of the Romans, did the most to establish them, for they understood how to win his favor as disinterested reformers of the morals of the clergy as well as active opponents of heresy.

The Jesuit Peter Canisius, a man as scholarly as he was crafty and energetic, made use of these sympathies of the king for the purpose of obtaining a settled abode for the order in Vienna and Prague, and especially schools for the clergy and for the young nobles. For this was the chief aim of the order: to gain the intellectual guidance of the clergy and the aristocracy; then surely the people would follow of themselves.

Amid all these external battles and victories, Loyola ruled rigorously within the society. Its most important members were intentionally humbled and abased that they might be converted into passive tools for the general. Ignatius was arbitrary and even tyrannical, as is every man of a creative mind and great energy. He knew how to impress permanently upon his order the principle of unlimited authority and submission thereto. Under his management the Society of Jesus had already become so powerful that it contested even with Pope Paul IV., who was unfavorably disposed toward it, and forced him to yield. Paul IV. was that Caraffa who had fallen out with Loyola, and was now chagrined to see his Theatins surpassed by the Jesuits. For such great results the order had chiefly its founder to thank. Indefatigable in spite of his enfeebled body, Loyola was active up to the last moment. His vital powers completely exhausted, he died, July 30, 1556. He had seen his work prosper as had no other founder of a religious order before him. His society numbered a thousand members in a hundred houses, which were divided into thirteen provinces. Princes courted its favor, popes hearkened to its voice, all Europe was filled with its fame.

This rapid progress and the important part played by the society for three centuries are explained by its regulations and laws. It cannot be doubted that the groundwork of this constitution was created by Loyola himself; even in 1540, he submitted to the first general assembly of the order a number of laws. These, however, were but beginnings. During the following ten years of his generalship Loyola labored incessantly on their further development, and in the year 1553 made known to the members of the order the Constitutions. It is, to be sure, no less certain that in 1558, after the death of Loyola, they were completed and revised by Laynez. But the frequent assertion that Laynez and not Loyola is the genuine author is unfounded.

The principles which Loyola continually preaches, and for which he has been charged with sacrificing regard for nature and morals, are blind faith in the established church, and fear of God and religious superiors appointed by him. "If the Catholic church," he says, in his 'Spiritual Exercises,' "has decided that something, which seems white to our eyes,

is black, we must forthwith declare that it is black." Loyola considered this idea necessary for the welfare of the church. He beheld the Catholic church in one of those crises which decide the destiny of nations: uprising and revolt everywhere; the Holy See itself defenceless and intimidated by the terrible catastrophe. He wished to form an army entirely subject and submissive to energetic leaders, in order to attack heresy with all weapons, temporal as well as spiritual. Of the life devoted to meditation, he retained only so much as was necessary to inspire his pupils with religious zeal and immovable fidelity to the Roman church. He, the former ascetic of Manresa, recommended the restriction of pious practices, and insisted especially upon complete forbearance from every mortification of the body. In Manresa, Loyola desired to win celestial glory and earthly honor by imitation of the saints, who had been at enmity with their own flesh; but in Rome he sought to attain the same end as leader of a great and influential society, which was ordained to live in the world and for it; to obtain the kingdom of God, not through spiritual travail, but by invoking all the powers of body and mind to support Roman orthodoxy and hierarchy. Combat was the chief aim of this "Cohort of Jesus."

Formerly a soldier, Loyola well knew that in war there was especial need of the strictest discipline on the part of the soldiers and officers; therefore, blind absolute obedience is the underlying principle of the order of the Jesuits, destined as it was for perpetual combat with the enemies of the church. This principle is not exclusively peculiar to this society, but no one had ever made unconditional and unlimited obedience the foundation of his whole administration, with such consequences as Ignatius. In Loyola's Constitutions is to be found this characteristic decision: "Those who live under the moral obligation of obedience, must, of necessity, permit themselves to be moved and guided by God's providence through the medium of those placed over them, as if they were a corpse (*perinde ac si cadaver essent*), which permits itself to be moved whithersoever it is desired, and to be dealt with in any manner at pleasure; or even as an old man's staff, which serves him who holds it in his hand, everywhere and in all things whereto he may apply it." Obedience is due to superiors in all matters wherein lies no obvious sin. This organization, conducted with the most ardent discipline, with the subversion of all individual feeling and thought, with cool contempt for morals, was, at all events, very promising for a new order, managed by inspired and highly-gifted leaders. It has assisted the Society of Jesus in gaining speedy and astonishing victories.

Among the remaining vows of the Jesuits, chastity is dismissed by

the constitution with a few words. Poverty is treated in greater detail. But this precept in general holds good only for the higher grades of the order; and even for them it is interpreted in such a way in the "Declarations" of the second general, Laynez, that the oath of poverty amounts to almost nothing. The Constitutions themselves openly allow the general to accept donations for the entire order, and to dispose of them as seems best. It is evident that with this system one succeeds in making the vow of poverty merely nominal, "as often and in such manner as one shall find it expedient for the greater glory of God." A constant care of the body and the personal appearance was prescribed. The order purposed from the first to obtain great influence in the world, and to make the upper classes bow themselves to the society. A repulsive exterior, such as that of the mendicant orders, would have rendered it very difficult to realize this purpose. Laws and vows, therefore, must be disregarded to assist the society in the attainment of its ambitious ends; and Laynez especially pursued this course most unscrupulously.

The novices, who spent two years in a particular house, had all their independence and sense of personal honor systematically deadened. They were employed in the most menial services of the community, intentionally subjected to humiliation and even temptation. They were pledged to impart to the superior all the incidents of their heart and mind, and to accept with patience the penances which he assigned them. Some of them at the expiration of their novitiate voluntarily or on compulsion entered the ranks of the secular servants of the order. Such received, however, neither scientific education nor ordination to the priesthood, but nevertheless took the triple vow of chastity, poverty and obedience; they were called "secular coadjutors." The more gifted novices were admitted among the scholars, and instructed first in Latin and general knowledge, then for four years in theology. At the conclusion of his studies the scholar was ordained as priest and submitted to an entrance examination; if he passed this successfully, he received the title of "spiritual coadjutor." As such he was an active member of the order, was employed chiefly as a teacher, and under certain conditions could take part in the provincial and general assemblies of the order.

Finally, those of the Jesuits who afforded the society the greatest gain, and in whom unbounded trust could be placed, were promoted by the general into the highest class, that of the professors. They were the heads, or rather the only real members, of the organization; they performed all its obligations, and with most solemn ceremony before the general took the fourth oath, that of a special obedience to the pope with respect to foreign and home missions. The number of these professors

was always comparatively small. From them were chosen missionaries particularly, and the higher dignitaries of the society. Like any other Jesuit they could be expelled from the order without being able to claim any means of support. No Jesuit, in fact, had any protection, except as indicated below, against the terrible power of the general, which threatened him every moment and could break him like a reed.

But if the might of the general is unrestrained as long as he labors for the weal of the order, he is in turn under close and continual observation in order that he may undertake nothing which would be opposed to the interests of the society. Constant distrust and universal espionage are the principles which dominate every grade of the Jesuit order. Its ruler is strong only as its chief servant; the sovereignty belongs rather to the entire society. The general can alter nothing in the Constitutions nor sell a house belonging to the order without the consent of the general assembly. Officers who cannot be deposed are placed at his side—the admonitor and the four assistants—whose advice and consent are necessary for all important business, and who keep a most severe watch over him and his manner of life. In case of the permanent illness or unworthiness of the general, they convoke the general assembly for his suspension or deposition. Should the assistants neglect this important duty, the provincial authorities must convene a general assembly for the correction of the evils. In this manner sufficient measures were found to assure the society of a management consistent with its aim.

This then is the work of Loyola and of Laynez, a wonderful creation, terrible in its unity and power, a military organization that during the centuries never once refused its services, that has constantly and most stubbornly resisted every attempt to reform the church, every tendency to religious toleration in opinions or conduct, every manifestation of religious liberty. Making common cause now with kings against peoples, now with peoples against kings, the Jesuits have had only one aim: to promote the victory of orthodoxy in the Catholic church, of the Catholic church in the whole world, and of themselves in the orthodox church. Toward this, their activity as teachers greatly helped them—that activity on which Ignatius had laid such stress, and which gave them such a hold on young priests and on the higher classes among the laity. Soon there was no portion of the aristocracy, no political or social interest, with which, by means of their institutions of learning, the Jesuits were not closely connected. This alone would have made them a power in the world. Protected and favored by the popes, the order made steady progress, acquiring an exceptional and most influential position in the church, which it imbued more and more with its own spirit (Fig. 106).

But the pontiff did not leave to the Jesuits alone the fight against heresy. Paul III., who had sanctioned the founding of the order and favored its first attempts, soon turned the resources of the Holy See against its threatening encroachments.

Luther's teachings early found eager welcome south of the Alps. Especially did the doctrine of justification by faith, resting as it did on



FIG. 106. Church del Gesù at Rome. Church of the Jesuits, begun in 1568 by Giacomo Barrozzio (Vignola: 1507-1573), and completed by his pupil, Giacomo della Porta. From the engraving by Marius Cartanus, Rome, 1573.

the writings of the foremost Church Fathers, and presenting so beneficent and convincing an argument to an enthusiastic and candid temper, exercise a powerful effect on the leading minds of Italy. Venice, to which thousands of German merchants resorted every year, became quite a centre of Lutheran propagandism. Her presses sent out translations of

German Protestant works under misleading titles. Prominent men of spotless character, like Lodovico Priuli and Gasparo Contarini, gathered about them numerous scholars who, while unwilling to break openly with the church, yet rejected the doctrine of sanctification by works, and set their hope of eternal salvation on the merits of Christ and the grace of God.

In other portions of North Italy also, Protestant teachings were introduced by German students, soldiers, and ambassadors. In Turin, and afterwards in Pavia, a Piedmontese nobleman, Celio Curione, preached the truths of the Gospel. Respect for the church had sunk very low in Italy, partly owing to the prevalence of the pagan philosophy of the humanists, and partly because of close contact with the profound corruption of the papacy and the ecclesiastics connected with it. The middle classes especially were affected by this tendency. It is undeniable that in the Italy of that day, not only scholars, as has been maintained, but numerous members of the nobility, as well as the higher and lower *bourgeoisie*, avowed their belief in Protestantism, or at least in its most important doctrines. Only the lower classes in city and country remained true to the old faith.

Gradually, however, with the exception of a few cities, which, like Venice, were in close relation to Germany, the Reformation in Italy assumed a distinctly national character, which showed itself in two directions: in a rationalistic, cultivated, and tolerant school, evidently sprung from humanism; and second, in a popular and mystical one, as evidently originating with the mendicant orders.

The chief representative of the first was Juan de Valdés, a noble Spaniard, who had learned antagonism to the pope in the service of the emperor and had carried it into dogmatic fields. Physically and intellectually refined and sensitive, Valdés withdrew to Naples and there gathered about him, in secret, a number of like-minded men and women of the higher classes. His friend, the Augustinian prior, Peter Martyr Vermigli, spread with greater energy the mild and rational opinions of Valdés. When the latter died, in 1541, still a young man, more than 3000 of his adherents were to be found in Naples alone, besides others in other portions of the kingdom, and among them many teachers, priests, and bishops.

The most influential champion of the second school was Bernardino Ochino of Siena, an enthusiastic Capuchin. His zeal, his self-castigation, his learning, and his impassioned and overpowering pulpit eloquence, had won for him all over Italy the reputation of a saint, and in his order the position of vicar-general. His sermons were assuming more and more a distinctly Protestant character.

All friends of the Reformation in Italy found protection and ready help in Renée, duchess of Ferrara. This learned daughter of Louis XII. of France, who had unfortunately married a rude and dissolute prince, had from the first favored humanism, and then Lutheranism. Her influence made the court of Ferrara and the neighboring city of Modena centres of Italian Protestantism. The heresy penetrated into the States of the Church and even into Rome itself. The less the pope did to satisfy the most reasonable demands for reform, the more dangerous the spirit of the Reformation grew. The complete failure of the endeavors of the only pope that worked sincerely to improve the intolerable condition of things in the church must have convinced every one that she never would succeed in reforming herself without the pressure of external circumstances.

Fifteen years later Paul III. recognized the necessity of doing something to regain for the Holy See the prominent Italians who, though not formally separated from the church, still inclined strongly to the new doctrines.

He hoped to wrest from the heretics their gifted and influential leaders, and secure them as champions of the church. He made Contarini a cardinal, conferred high dignities upon many of his companions, and showered upon them proofs of his confidence (1536). This was, on his part, a master-stroke of policy. The men were won, hoping to be able to introduce their ideas into the papal court and the whole church; soon, however, they found themselves borne along by the mighty ecclesiastical machine of which they had become a part, and by the flattering honors and offices which were bestowed on them. Paul, with his profound knowledge of human nature, urged them on at first by holding up before them the bright prospect of a reform commission; gradually, however, he lulled them to rest, allowing their former associates to indulge in loud demands and protests which were received at all times in a good spirit, but which led to no practical results. Paul had made up his mind to fight heresy not by means of useful innovations and in peaceful rivalry, but by rooting it out by force.

He was confirmed in this resolution by Caraffa, whom, in 1536, he had recalled from Venice and made a cardinal. During his sojourn in Spain as nuncio, Caraffa had seen the efficiency of the Inquisition there, and its success in putting down heresy had filled him with admiration and inspired him with a desire to establish a similar institution in Italy, where the former Inquisition, entrusted to the Dominicans, had almost entirely disappeared. The Italian Inquisition should, however, differ from the Spanish by being under the exclusive control of the pope.

In spite of the opposition of most cardinals, Caraffa succeeded in persuading Paul to establish by the Bull *Licet ab initio* (July 21, 1542) a supreme Inquisitorial Commission of six members, with Caraffa as chairman; authority was bestowed upon it to investigate and to punish all crimes against religion. Local tribunals were set up in the separate provinces. The king of Portugal voluntarily brought his realm under the control of the Roman Inquisition.

Caraffa at once impressed upon this body the stamp of his energetic, fearless, and terribly reckless character. He declared the principles of the Inquisition to be: to proceed against even the suspicion of heresy; never to be lenient with heretics; to punish, above all, great and influential persons, since this would terrify the humble and deprive them of leaders; and to deal with double severity with any one who should appeal to the protection of any potentate. These were maxims as effectual as they were bold. Bishop Soranzo of Bergamo was cast into prison; Bernardino Ochino and Peter Martyr Vermigli fled to Geneva, followed soon afterward by Celio Curione. Her high rank did not protect Renée of Ferrara from humiliations and persecutions; she was driven to leave her court and her family, and to withdraw to France. The Italian Protestants were thus deprived of their most influential leaders. All timid and hesitating persons now hastened to return to the bosom of the church; those with stronger convictions fled to Switzerland or Germany. Although in many cities they were actually in the majority, the Italian Protestants nowhere ventured, as their German, French, or Scottish brethren did, to offer a bold resistance to their oppressors. The Italians lacked strong, self-sacrificing convictions. Sons of the Renaissance, they were permeated with a skepticism that crippled them for all courageous resistance. They submitted in silence, and sought by the eager observance of ecclesiastical obligations to conceal the doubts they could not help entertaining concerning religious dogmas. The strict supervision of the Inquisitors and the untiring efforts of the Jesuits drove more and more into the background the philosophical traditions of antiquity, and ultimately killed the brilliant intellectual spirit which for three centuries had kept Italy at the head of European nations. Under the sway of anxious devotion and petty bigotry, power of invention and vigor of thought were crippled. Tasso himself was shipwrecked on this rock; fear of having been impious in his poems and of having given offense to the Inquisition led him to insanity and death. He was the last representative of the noblest and most brilliant era in the history of Italy. Henceforth men sought in literature and art no longer grandeur and beauty, but prettiness and empty gracefulness;

mannerism and tasteless affectation replaced the grand ideal of the Cinque-Cento.

Still all these external means—the soldier's sword, the executioner's stake—would not have rescued the Catholic church from the attacks of the Reformation and from the danger of internal dissolution if there had not been wrought a reformation within.

After long hesitation Paul III. had at length yielded to the wishes of Emperor Charles V. and of all sincere Catholics, and had summoned all the bishops of Christendom to meet in ecumenical council at Trent on March 14, 1545. He had chosen this city because the Germans insisted on meeting within the empire, and yet Trent, though within Germany, was so far south that it had not been affected by the Lutheran heresy. The principal sovereigns of the Catholic world were represented at the council by ambassadors, but the pope had skilfully managed so that the direction of the council fell exclusively to his legates, who in all important matters referred the decision to him, and were constantly guided by his instructions. Naturally, the Protestants positively refused to participate in the council or to acknowledge it. What could they expect from an assembly made up altogether of their opponents and blindly devoted to a power bitterly hostile to them? This made the Council of Trent not a source of peace and concord, but of discord and permanent division among the nations of Europe. The temporal rulers, the bishops, and the faithful of France and Germany, had expected from it a complete reform of the church from top to bottom, and especially the removal of numerous ecclesiastical abuses. The pope, on the other hand, hoped to get from the council a new and solemn confirmation of Catholic dogmas, and thereby a condemnation by the general church of Protestants and their heresies. After obtaining this result the pope meant to dissolve the council; the removal of abuses was to be left to him as supreme judge of religious matters—that is, was to be indefinitely postponed. He enjoined his legates, contrary to the practice of earlier councils, to issue all documents exclusively in the name of the Holy See. In the same spirit the papal party at Trent decided that votes should be taken by heads, and not, as in Constance and Basel, by nations, “so as not to leave the most sacred interests of the Christian world to the accidental number of delegates of each nation who might happen to be present.” It is not difficult to discover the reason for this change. In Italy there are hundreds of bishoprics, some of them very small, while the rest of Christendom is divided into a comparatively small number of dioceses of considerable extent. Thus an Italian bishop with a see of perhaps 10,000 souls is the equal in rank to a German or French

prelate who has a million in his see. Voting by heads ensures the victory to the Italians, who have always been faithful adherents of the pope. The only prelates who, following the emperor's desire, opposed the papal party with any skill and consistency, were the Spanish bishops. Inferior to the Italians in number, they surpassed them in learning, religious zeal, and in real piety. Though entirely devoted to the Catholic faith, they meant to free it from the tyranny of Rome and from the abuses which the negligence and the greed of the popes had allowed to grow up within it. They succeeded in having the question of reform made the order of the day. But a real reformation and a reconciliation with the Protestants were not to be hoped for from them. They, too, were permeated with the intolerant spirit of St. Thomas, whose *Summa Theologiae* was the true catechism for the members of the council. The radical defect of the assembly was its composition—almost wholly Spaniards and Italians. Could this be called a body representative of the whole church and qualified to decide on the weightiest questions of religion, worship, and morals?

It was not until December 13, 1545, that the number of bishops present was sufficient to allow of the opening. Naturally enough, they began their labors with the question of the Holy Scriptures. All were agreed to declare that certain books of the Old and of the New Testaments formed the Scriptural canon and were indispensable to the Catholic faith. This decision was simply what was to be expected, and was sure of commending itself to the Protestants. The second question, as to the value of church tradition, as compared with the Scriptures, was more important and decisive. If we remember that the foundation-principle of Protestantism was to consider the Bible alone as binding upon Christians, and to leave its interpretation to the individual conscience, illuminated by the Holy Ghost, we can readily see that the council had come to a turning-point. The majority, under the lead of the legates, rejected all compromise, and, in spite of the opposition of an important minority, declared that church tradition, in its whole extent, is no less binding than the Bible. This resolution destroyed all hope of an understanding with the Protestants, and made the breach between the old doctrine and the new irreparable. By assigning unlimited value to tradition, the church submitted to all the decisions of former councils and popes and accepted the doctrines and the hierarchy handed down by the Middle Ages. Nearly all the other decisions of the Council of Trent were dependent on this resolution.

The question of Bible translation was dealt with in the same one-sided, conservative way. The Latin Vulgate was declared to be the only

authentic version, and the printing or sale of Bibles or religious works not sanctioned by the church was forbidden under severe penalties. The council was determined to place all religious and political literature under the supervision of official theologians, and to prevent all independent discussion of Biblical texts. It wished by one stroke to invest the Vulgate, whose numerous errors were acknowledged by the pope himself, with the character of infallibility.

After settling, in a pronounced Catholic spirit, the question of original sin, the fathers took hold of the doctrine of justification. Here they touched upon the most important and original part of the whole Protestant doctrine, which, as is well known, bases the salvation of man exclusively on faith in Jesus Christ and His sacrifice, and considers good works merely as a manifestation of faith. On this point the views of the Lutherans and those of numerous Catholic dignitaries came very near together, and the legates were not without apprehension. The emperor, besides, was constantly urging the council to concern itself more about the amelioration of the church constitution and to give up the discussion of dogmas, which must make the presence of Protestants in Trent an impossibility. Consequent upon these opposing views there arose bitter quarrels that wasted the time of the council for months. On the question of justification the bishops literally came to blows. A Spanish cardinal openly accused the legates of falsifying the vote and of arbitrarily overriding the decisions of the majority. Bishop Madruzzo, of Trent, assailed them with insults and charges of all sorts. At length, by violence and all the arts of Machiavellism, they succeeded in having their way—that is, the pope's way. In spite of the stubborn resistance of the Spanish prelates, the obsequious Italian majority, in the sixth public sitting, January 13, 1547, published the chapters and canons of the doctrine of justification, and thereby confirmed for all time the division of Christendom into two hostile churches.

How greatly were they mistaken who had expected from the council reconciliation with the Protestants! In the doctrine concerning the sacraments, it was no less strongly anti-Protestant. It declared that the sacraments are seven in number, that they are indispensable to obtain divine grace, and that, with few exceptions, the priests alone have a right to bestow them.

The Spanish prelates, after these dogmatic affairs were settled, tried to deal earnestly with the internal reform of the church, but they obtained only unimportant concessions. The pope was constantly increasing the number of Italians who were devoted to him, and who, indifferent to the desire for reformation on the part of other nations, cared only to please

the papal court by silencing all opposition by the sheer weight of numbers. Recalcitrant prelates were threatened with being summoned before the Inquisition as heretics.

By such means Rome secured at length its desired object. It is true that a decree was published forbidding the same person to unite several bishoprics, parishes, or other church benefices in his possession. The council also decreed that every bishop-elect must take up his residence in his diocese within six months. It subjected candidates for the priesthood to an examination before the bishop of the diocese, and gave the latter the right to reform all churches of his see, not excepting the cathedral church. All these measures were unquestionably wise, but by causing to be appended to the decree the formula "without in any manner restricting the authority of the Holy See," the legates opened wide the door to abuses of all kinds. The right of the pope to grant dispensations remained untouched, and intrigue and bribery could, as heretofore, circumvent the most strict church regulations.

In spite of the servility of the majority of the council, its existence had become a burden and offence to the pope. He had summoned it because he was convinced that he could not, without the emperor's good will, extricate the church from the dangers that threatened her on all sides. To obtain for the papacy the powerful aid of Charles V., he had granted the wish of the latter and convoked the representatives of Catholic Christendom in a city of the German empire. But within a few months the situation was entirely changed. The emperor had been victorious over his Protestant adversaries. Now that Paul no longer feared the German heretics, he began to fear Charles V., who could now act as he chose against Italy and the papacy. Paul dreaded having the papal see made absolutely dependent upon the Hapsburgs and having Charles's reformatory efforts triumph over hierarchical conservatism. The remedy was his old cherished plan of a council held in an Italian city; the pretext for a removal was easily found. During the first weeks of the year 1547, two members of the council, as well as a few theologians and servants, had died, a quite natural event considering the number of persons assembled and the fact that most of them were advanced in years. But the legates maintained that a scarlet fever epidemic had broken out in Trent, and that longer stay there was impossible. In spite of the protests of the city physicians, who, basing their opinion on the death list, declared the epidemic a pure fiction, the papal majority decided, March 11, 1547, to remove the council to Bologna. Here they were no longer in fear of the emperor and were under the direct influence of the pope. "In Bologna," wrote one of the legates a

few months later, "we have passed from Egyptian captivity into the promised land."

But it seemed as if the momentary victory of the papacy was to expose it and the whole Catholic cause to serious dangers. The Spaniards refused to acknowledge the transfer, and remained in Trent. The Bologna meeting, consisting of scarcely thirty bishops, had no prestige



FIG. 107. Pope Julius III. Facsimile of the engraving by Enea Vico about 1512-1570.

and did not venture to pass any decisions. Charles expressly declared his displeasure at the removal and undertook the religious reform of Germany on his own authority; during the interim, numerous provincial synods in Germany and the Netherlands set themselves to work to carry out the emperor's idea, without any aid from the pope. Catholicism was

threatened with a formal schism. Meanwhile, Paul III. died, in November, 1549. He was a man of great ability, but had failed to recognize the pressing demands of his time. Charles V. wished the Englishman, Reginald Pole, who was favorable to the reform, to be his successor, and in fact, this distinguished prelate, upon whom the whole liberal party among the Catholics had set their hopes, only lacked two votes of the two-thirds necessary for election. But as the French members and their allies in the council, together with the strict zealots, cast their votes against him persistently, the Imperialists had to give up their attempt to elect him. All parties agreed finally on an insignificant person, Cardinal del Monte, who was chosen as Julius III. (Fig. 107).

Raised to that high and long-sought position, the new pontiff wished to enjoy its worldly and literary advantages. To preserve the peace and at the same time secure the future of his family, he wished above all to stand well with the foremost monarch of Europe, the Emperor Charles. He therefore convened again the council at Trent on the first day of May, 1551. But from the very first, grave difficulties presented themselves. In spite of all the efforts of Charles V., no German could be induced to attend; and then just at this time hostilities broke out in Italy with France, which kept away from the council the French prelates and their allies, the Swiss. The opening had to be delayed four months before a sufficient number of bishops had come together. When it was finally opened there was nothing but disagreement, and when the emperor made himself the advocate of some of the demands made by the Protestants, the pope thought the time had come to dismiss this troublesome council. The rising of the German Lutherans under Maurice of Saxony afforded him the desired pretext, and on April 28, 1552, the meeting adjourned *sine die*. Its eight months' session had resulted in nothing. Meanwhile, the Protestants had secured by the treaties of Passau and Augsburg more than even the most liberal council could grant them. Charles V., the principal mover for a council, withdrew from public life, and a few years later died in the cloister of St. Yuste. Furthermore, the long and devastating war which since 1551 had been waged between the two foremost Catholic powers, made the convening of a general council wholly impossible. How could Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Netherlanders meet in a common body? Julius III. died in 1555.

His successor was Paul IV., the fanatical Neapolitan Caraffa (Fig. 108), who had founded the order of Theatins. The passionate, imperious character of this pope was utterly hostile to any thought of agreement with the opposite party, or to a temporary sharing of his power with a council. He meant to rule and to fight heresy with inexorable severity.



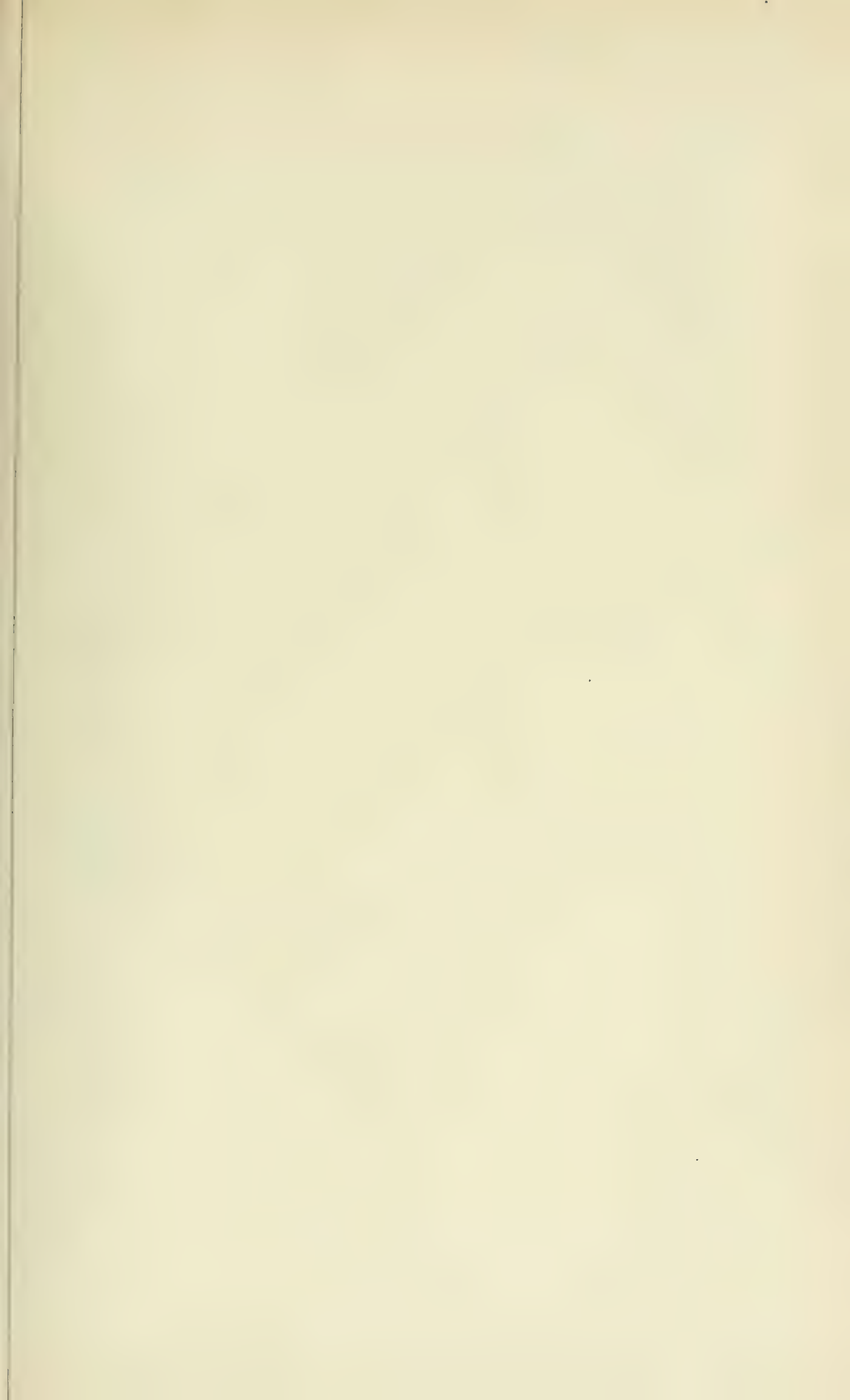
FIG. 108—Pope Paul IV., Caraffa. Reduced facsimile of the engraving by Nicolas Beatriet (about 1515–1560).

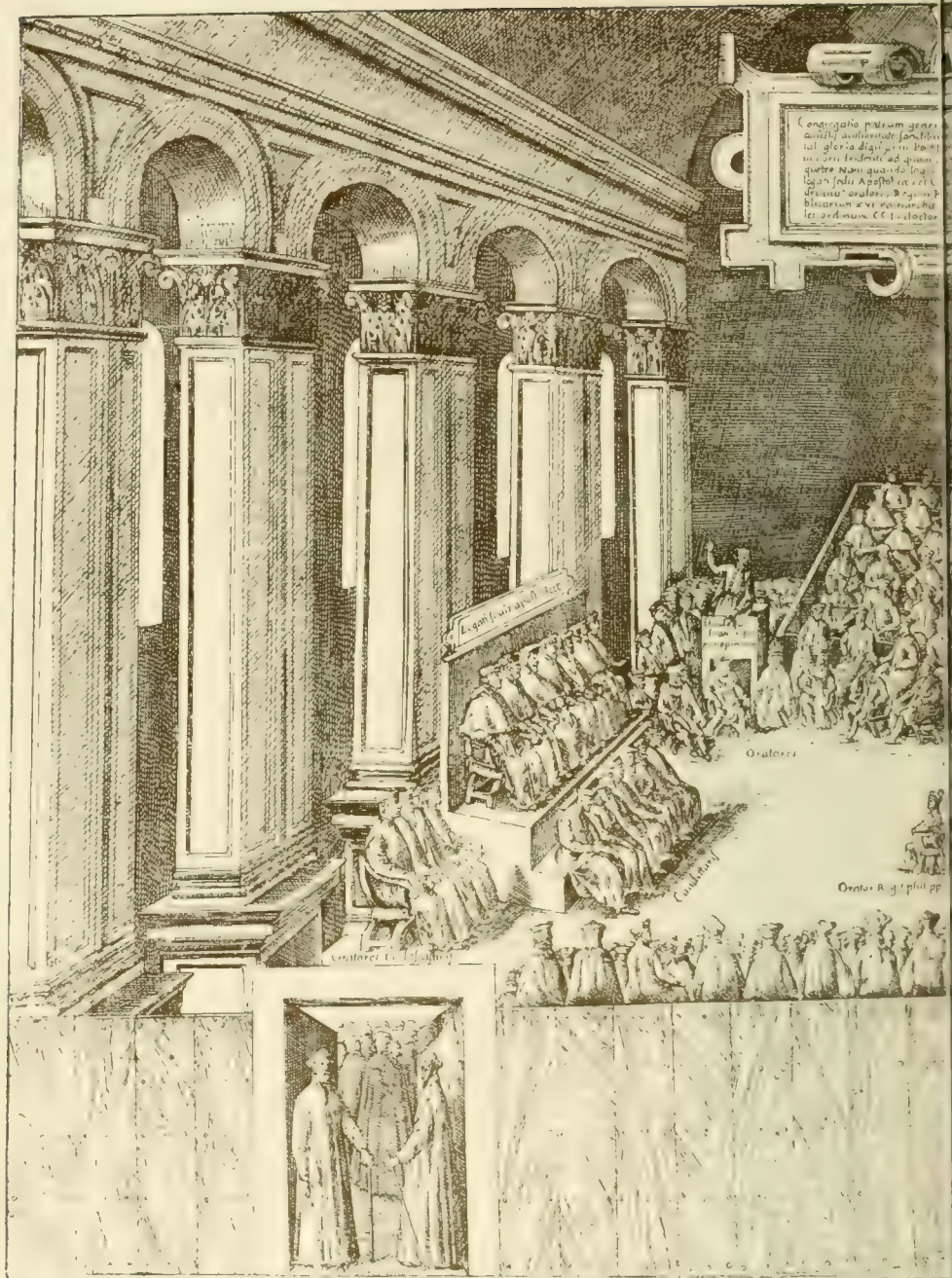
He published the first general *Index librorum prohibitorum*, with severe penalties against persons who sold or read prohibited books. Condemned works were publicly burned by thousands. No one was to be allowed to

think otherwise than as the pope thought proper. He revived the Inquisition in Italy, and regularly attended its meetings in Rome, and strengthened it by all means in his power. He cast into prison cardinals and bishops suspected of heresy, recalled Reginald Pole from the legation in England on account of his moderate views, and raged against all who were not zealous upholders of the strictest Roman orthodoxy and of the complete authority of the pope. But all his endeavors to introduce the most needful reforms in the discipline of the church completely failed, and it became evident to every one that nothing short of a general council could accomplish anything. Paul IV. did great harm to Catholicism by throwing himself, with all the intensity of his character, into the struggle against the Spaniards, whom he hated as the tyrants of Naples, his native city. By his successful efforts to embitter and prolong the strife between the two great Catholic states, Paul, in spite of his intense hate of heresy, did more than anyone else to contribute to its extension. The German soldiers spread it in the Netherlands and in France. Philip II. and Henry II. were so engaged in their mutual quarrels that for years they could pay little attention to the heretics. Next to the attacks of the Turks, it was the hostility of Paul to the Hapsburgs that induced Ferdinand I. to court the favor of the powerful Protestant princes of Germany, and to allow free course to the new doctrines even in his hereditary lands. Poland, even, was making ready to follow Germany, and Eastern Europe threatened to fall away from Catholicism, as Germany and Scandinavia had already done.

The great and rapid progress of heresy so frightened Philip of Spain and Henry of France that they concluded a peace at Cateau-Cambrésis in the spring of 1559, in order to join their forces against it. It was plainly seen, however, that violence and severity could not alone succeed, and that, at least north of the Alps, Catholicism was threatened with ruin, unless the intense desire of Christian nations for a genuine reform of the clergy, of church organization, and of doctrine, was met by the convocation of a general council.

Fortunately for the Catholic cause, Paul IV. died soon after the conclusion of the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (August 18, 1559). For a long time the cardinals could not unite in their choice. Finally, after four months, they elected a personal antagonist of Paul IV., Giovanni Angelo Medici, not a member of the famous Florentine family, but a Milanese of humble origin. He was a doctor of canon law, a well-meaning, amiable man, who wished to live at peace with every one. Pius IV. (that was the name he took) was personally disposed to summon a council; but the majority of the college of cardinals was opposed to it, and the Catholic





Ecclesiastical orators
Two messengers

Legates of the Apostolic See.
Pages.

A theologian expressing his views
Philip.
Orators.

A Session of the

Reduced facsimile of an anonymous engraving; Venice, 1566

Translation of the inscription in the two tablets (Latin and Italian): "General assembly of Christ, Pius IV., pious in truth, Supreme Pontiff, worthy of immortal glory, in the church of Santa Maria when the bishops speak none enters. There were five cardinals, two legates of the Apostolic See, and Princes, and Republics; two hundred and fifty Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and generals

Council of Trent.

fathers of the sacred oecumenical council of Trent, held by authority of the most holy vicar of
Maggiore in Trent, to which all were permitted to come to hear the speeches of the theologians, for
10 cardinals who were not delegates, Lorraine and Madruzzi ; sixteen orators for the Christian Kings,
orders, theologians, and jurists."

world would probably have waited long for the fulfilment of its desire, had not a special cause intervened: public opinion in France so imperatively demanded a thorough reformation of the church that the French court determined to convoke a national council if the pope persisted in refusing to comply with the unanimous desire of Christendom. Pius IV., fearing that such an event would bring about the complete secession of France, issued, in November, 1560, a bull convoking a general council, to meet in Trent at Easter in the following year. As he had refused the request of the Emperor Ferdinand and of the French government, that in order to secure a reconciliation with the Lutherans the council should meet in a neutral German city, no Protestant ruler or nation took part in it, and it remained an exclusively Catholic affair. In spite of this, however, the reopening of the Council of Trent was an event of immeasurable importance to the future of the church; its influence is felt to-day.

The designs which the great Catholic powers brought to the council were various. Emperor Ferdinand was convinced of the necessity of a comprehensive church reform, and demanded the granting of the communion in both kinds, the marriage of the priests, the limitation of the papal power, and the remodelling of the college of cardinals in an international spirit. Unfortunately, with the exception of his envoys, there was no one at the council disposed to press these requests, for among the German bishops the fear of the Protestants was so great, that, as the latter had refused to attend the gathering, they themselves abstained from taking part in it.

The claims of France, though less comprehensive than the emperor's, were in the same direction. It is possible that if the imperial party had made common cause with the French they might have been successful, for the French, owing to the large number of their bishops, had great influence. But there was a sad lack of unity and perseverance among those who desired some reform, which in a measure led to their defeat. The obstinate refusal of Philip II. to make any concession to the innovators, also contributed to this. The Spanish were no less desirous than were the Germans and the French to diminish the papal authority, and to increase the independence of national churches. Spain had a goodly number of able prelates at the council, and made a vigorous effort to secure her points, and if France and Germany had followed her example the future of Christendom would have been different. But the three nations did not combine their forces, and were conquered by the skilful strategy of the Holy See.

The virtual opening of the council (PLATE XII.) took place in

January, 1562; the few present were mostly Italians. The spirit which inspired the majority was manifest in its very first decision: the completion and confirmation of Paul IV.'s *Index librorum prohibitorum*. After a bitter discussion over the question of the residence of bishops in their dioceses, the council passed to other matters. The mass was defined as a general sin-offering for the living and the dead; the propriety of celebrating it in honor of one or more saints was affirmed; Latin was declared to be the only tongue in which it could be said.

The question of communion in both kinds, on which both the French and Germans insisted, was of much greater importance. The emperor had again brought it forward, and added a very significant threat: "It is possible," he said, "that Italy does not need any reformation; but it would be a pity to see the Catholic religion confined to so small a corner of the world." As usual, the French representatives stood by those of the emperor. Two of the legates supported Ferdinand's demands. The pope himself was not opposed to them; but the fanaticism of the Spaniards, and the inflexible resolution of the Jesuits, proved stronger than the Holy Father. Laynez, the general of the order, made a long and fierce attack on the imperial propositions, and devoted all his personal influence to defeat them. The majority of the council absolutely refused to concede the cup to the laity, and it was owing only to the direct interposition of the pope that the matter was referred back to him and not positively decided in the negative. A new difficulty arose when the council came to define the dogma concerning the priesthood. The Spaniards insisted on a specific declaration that the episcopal dignity was a divine institution. The pope and his adherents, on the other side, maintained that the judicial and administrative authority of the bishops was derived solely from the pontiff in his capacity as vicegerent for Christ on earth. According to the former position, the pope was only the first among equals, *primus inter pares*; according to the latter, he was the universal and omnipotent bishop, other bishops being only his officials and agents. The dispute was certainly of great practical importance; for, if the divine right of bishops were acknowledged, the Holy See would be deprived of all pretext for interference in episcopal jurisdiction and for the dispensation of church benefices.

The opposition party was strengthened in a manner very threatening to the Holy See, when, in November, 1562, Charles of Lorraine-Guise, Cardinal Archbishop of Rheims—usually called the Cardinal of Lorraine—appeared in Trent with a numerous retinue of French prelates. This talented, ambitious, selfish prince had recently joined the party of reform in France, and was, consequently, especially feared and hated by the

Roman court. After his arrival in Trent the struggle between the papal and the reform parties became steadily more violent and useless. For months the sessions of the council went on uninterruptedly. "Everything here is topsy-turvy," writes the Archbishop of Prague despairingly to the emperor. The reports of the legates are equally full of discouragement. The Christian world began to grow impatient at these endless discussions, resulting apparently in nothing. In the programme of Ferdinand, the French, and Philip II., there was a number of important points which they might easily have agreed on and carried through. But such union was what the pope dreaded; to avoid the danger of it, his only resort was to turn to the monarch whose wishes had once been the most far-reaching and comprehensive, but whom he knew to be really the weakest and most yielding of his antagonists—the emperor. After persistent and most skilfully conducted negotiations, Pius IV. succeeded completely in detaching Ferdinand from the opposition. He persuaded him that he had nothing to hope from the orthodox majority in the council or from his ultra-conservative nephew of Spain, while, as the price of his alliance with Rome, he could obtain important concessions, and especially the granting of the cup to the laity, as soon as the council was dismissed. Ferdinand had another reason for wishing to come to terms with Pius. He greatly desired to have his son Maximilian, who was suspected of heretical leanings, recognized as King of the Romans.

The pope had won a signal success. The unity of the reform party was destroyed; a breach had been made, through which the papal force could easily pass to plant their victorious banner over the ruins of the liberties of the church.

The example of Ferdinand's defection was contagious. None of the prelates at Trent was more feared by Rome than Charles of Guise. Just at this time his family had incurred the ill-will of the Regent Catharine; he was, therefore, quite desirous of securing the support of the pope and quite ready to listen to the tempting promises of personal aggrandizement that the pope was continually making. His change of front decided the issue of the council and the total defeat of the reform party.

The fathers defined, in the canons concerning the ecclesiastical order, the necessity of the hierarchy, the legal authority of the bishops, and the legality of bishops appointed by the pope. The reform party had urgently pressed the doing away of bishops *in partibus infidelium*, appointed exclusively by the pope, and his most devoted servants. By the aid of French votes this demand was defeated.

In so far as the question of the absolute authority of the pope was

concerned, the council did pass some excellent resolutions. It decreed that henceforward only well-known ecclesiastics, recommended by other prelates, should be raised to the episcopal dignity; the pope was to confirm the new bishop only after satisfactory examination of the latter's fitness made by four cardinals. The lower clergy were subjected much more closely than before to the supervision of bishops. Especially important was a decree, which, more perhaps than any other act of the Council of Trent, contributed to the restoration of Catholicism, the decree which enjoined the erection, in every diocese, of a seminary for the training of priests. It has been said, and from a Catholic standpoint truly said, that had the council done nothing else, this alone would have been enough to make it a useful and beneficent gathering (July, 1563). Pius IV. was delighted with these results, especially as they brought much nearer the close of the council, which he so ardently desired.

By the defection of Lorraine and his bishops, the marriage of the clergy now found scarcely any other champions than the imperial envoys. The earnest desire of the German and French nations and clergy was contemptuously pushed aside by the council with scarce any discussion. Worse still; not only was celibacy imposed upon the priests; it was declared to be, in general, a better and holier state than matrimony. Then came thirty-six canons for the improvement of the conduct and discipline of the clergy. Among other things these prescribed frequent provincial councils, strict supervision of the subordinate clergy by the bishops, and regular preaching. The sale of ecclesiastical dignities and all extortions from the lower clergy were expressly forbidden. A strict examination of candidates for a charge was enjoined, and the practice of supporting, at the expense of the church, the expectant candidates during the lifetime of incumbents, was done away with.

Philip II. and the Spanish prelates wished to prolong the sessions of the council a few months longer, so as to deal thoroughly with the remaining dogmas and reforms. But the pope was eager to close, and obtained his wish the more readily, as every one was really longing for the end of a gathering that had been in session nearly eighteen years. In considerable haste the fathers voted six more canons on discipline, which, among other things, limited the scope of excommunication; twenty-three on the reform of the regular clergy; six on female convents. A few days only were taken in settling the difficult points of purgatory and the invocation of the saints. Then, with tears of joy, the fathers embraced each other. The great work, which had so often seemed on the brink of ruin, was at last successfully completed. On

December 4, 1563, the Council of Trent was closed with prayers and thanksgivings. Two hundred and thirty-four cardinals, bishops, generals of orders, and procurators signed the decrees, which the pope confirmed on January 26, 1564.

The body of doctrine of the Catholic church, as constructed by the Council of Trent, became, as a matter of course, authority for all lands still connected with the Roman see. It was otherwise with the decrees concerning the external administration of the church, her temporal rights, the forms of public worship, the discipline and organization of the clergy. To become binding they needed publication in every country, nay, in every diocese, and they were far from obtaining universal acknowledgment. The emperor, for his German and Slavic hereditary lands, the kings of Poland and Portugal, the Duke of Savoy, and a few of the smaller states alone adopted them unconditionally. Philip II. did not publish the decrees before 1565, and then only with the express understanding that all in them that in any way conflicted with his temporal rights should be held invalid; royal courts should decide in last resort on the validity of the decisions of the council. Finally, France, Hungary, and the German empire have never acknowledged or published the Tridentine decrees.

In one sense, therefore, the issue of the council was not pacifying. In the wide field of the faith, the doctrine of the church, the inner life of the clergy, however, its influence has been immeasurable. It can be truly said that it saved the church, that it created the forms and tendencies in which Catholicism has since lived and moved. It introduced a real regeneration of the Catholic church (cf. Fig. 221). Nothing had so much favored the growth of Protestantism as the fact that the representatives of the church could not agree at all as to the contents, meaning, and importance of their different dogmas. This uncertainty had taken all firm footing from under the Catholics, and filled the souls of even the staunchest believers with doubt and dismay. After the publication of the Trent decrees everything was changed. The Catholic knew now exactly what his religion was, and who its antagonists were. Doubt was no longer possible. The long explanations that accompanied the acts of the council enlightened him as to the grounds for all the particulars of his faith, and prepared him to meet the objections of opponents. The church had recovered herself, had won security and confidence, and inspired its members with the same. It is from the Council of Trent that we must date the arrest of the hitherto irresistible progress of the Reformation; on the contrary, the Catholic clergy, once more numerous, courageous,

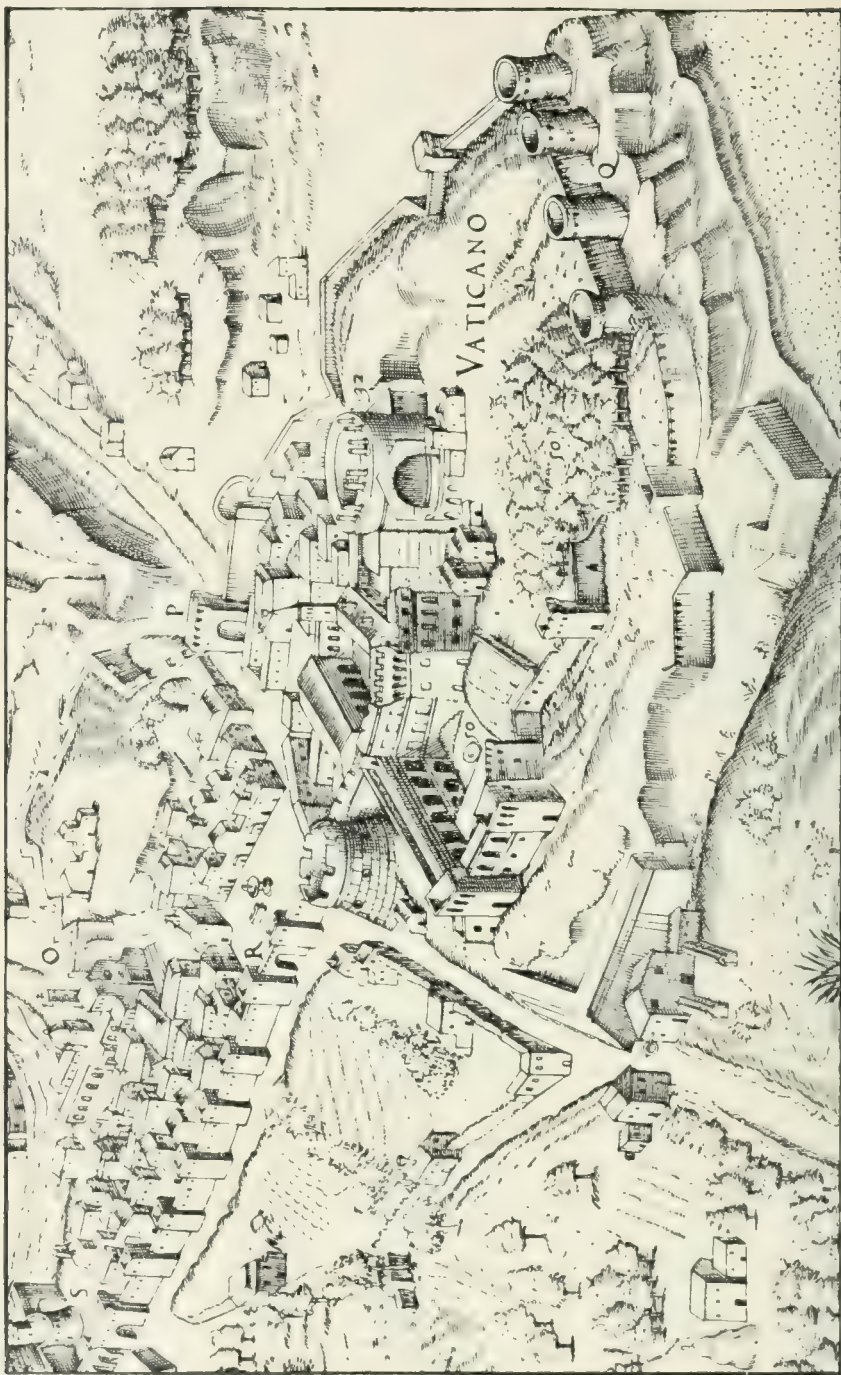


FIG. 109. — The Vatican about 1560-1570. Part of a contemporary bird's-eye view of Rome from *Speculum Romanæ Aquæductus* by Antonio Lafreri. Explanation: 50, Belvedere; 32, St. Peter's, in process of construction; P, Porta Torronio; Q, Porta Posterula; R, Porta S. Petri; S, Porta S. Angeli alias Castelli; O, Porta S. Spiritus.

and well disciplined, assumed the offensive, and drove Protestantism back into the lands of the north, where alone it succeeded in maintaining itself. The church preferred to sever from its communion millions of souls in those countries, rather than to incur the charge of wavering in its doctrines. The party that wished by a few concessions to restore that union with the seceders, was completely defeated at Trent. The majority felt that, as the Protestants had in the exclusive authority of the Bible a clear and firm principle, so the Catholic church must hold firmly and steadfastly to her principles: the unchanging consistency of her dogmas, the sanctity of her tradition, and her eternal and universal authority. Otherwise, no firm ground could be held against the enemy. The Jesuits had, from the very beginning, seen this clearly, and on that account exercised a controlling influence in the council.

The non-Italian nations had completely failed in their attempt to limit papal authority. The Roman court, it is true, had lost certain pecuniary advantages—the very prerogatives that had made it an object of hate to all European peoples; but its real power and influence were greatly enlarged. The authority of the pope had been practically acknowledged as superior to that of the council. He had been expressly called “God’s immediate vicegerent on earth;” it had been added that “the supreme authority in the universal church was vested in the Roman bishop.” Other bishops had been made more than ever his dependents by a long list of decisions that bound them to Rome more strictly than before.

As a compensation for this diminution of their independence, bishops were given more complete authority over the diocesan clergy and a portion of the regular clergy. Yet, as they were in reality simple agents of the pope, this reform ultimately led to an increase and confirmation of papal power. The spirit of authority above, of submission below, pervaded the entire immense structure.

The papacy, endowed with greater prestige, realized and undertook the increased duties and responsibilities derived from enlarged authority. The successors of Pius IV. were sincerely pious and conscientious men, who set the church an excellent example, and by their pure influence strengthened their hierarchical and disciplinary authority, and bound the Catholic nations more closely to Rome.

Unquestionably the most momentous of all the measures of the council was the creation of episcopal seminaries, one or more in every see, under the supervision of the bishop. If, as is unquestionably the case, the present Catholic church far excels that of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries in learning, dignity, and influence on the masses,

the largest share of this gain is due to these seminaries. The young pupils, often as early as their twelfth year, were separated from all intercourse with the external world, so that their hearts and minds were closed against all other influence than that of their religious superiors. The counter-Reformation wished, as Rome still does, to make of the priest an absolutely devoted tool of the church.

The Council of Trent opened a period of vigorous activity and growth in the Roman church. Former abuses gradually disappeared; the people, to whom the name of priest had become hateful, learned again to look upon their pastors as spiritual guides and advisers. Catholic propagandism met Protestantism face to face, sometimes brutally and cruelly indeed, but inspired by genuine conviction and ardent zeal. The church drew more closely together, for it saw safety only in unity and in universal submission to the central power of Rome. The faithful were subjected to a strict discipline; all freedom of religious opinion and practice was strictly forbidden. In former times the church, in the consciousness of her undisputed authority, had been tolerant of opposition that was not too loud and too open; she had pretended not to see it. But times had changed. Everywhere religious arrogance and intolerance resumed their sway. In the fifteenth century the clergy had eagerly shared in the humanistic movement, in the pursuit of learning, the languages, and the arts of the ancients. Scholars, the higher classes, the popes themselves, had, as it were, turned away from Christianity. But since the Council of Trent it was all different. What Erasmus of Rotterdam and so many other humanists had feared, what had induced them to pronounce themselves against the movement inaugurated by Luther, had actually taken place: for a century and a half, learning was driven into the background, and the religious, or more correctly, the sectarian, spirit, controlled the world. Religious wars divided Europe into two hostile camps, and precious blood flowed in streams on hundreds of battlefields. But these wars were also the school out of which were to come forth such a number of admirable characters, powerful natures, and vigorous intellects as no other age can show.

CHAPTER IX.

CALVIN AND CALVINISM.

FRENCH Protestantism never enjoyed the favor of King Francis I. As early as 1525 he gave its enemies free play, and numerous martyrs were sent to the stake. The king's orthodoxy, however, always depended, to some extent, upon the foreign relations of his realm. The actions of the French kings of the sixteenth century exhibit a constant contradiction between their domestic and foreign policy. They waver between a repression of the Reformation within their realm and the support of Protestantism in foreign countries. Such a combination could never be fully realized; one policy hindered the other, and the French monarchs could never cope quite successfully either with the Hapsburgs or the French Calvinists. Under Francis I. arose the man who was to give permanent shape and direction to the Reformation in Western Europe.

John Calvin (Jean Chauvin) came, as Luther had come, from the ranks of the common people. His father, an energetic, stern man, had risen to a superior position among the servants of the Bishop of Noyon, in Picardy. It was in this city that John was born on June 10, 1509. His father destined him for a learned profession, and the youth devoted himself with passionate eagerness to the study of jurisprudence at Orleans. But a German professor, Melchior Vollmar, a most attractive character, won him over to humanism, which had in France an anti-Catholic tendency. This was confirmed at Bourges, where Calvin soon rejoined his friend and teacher. He was altogether shaken in his Catholic convictions, but still very far from giving them up altogether; his character was too strong and earnest for this.

Accidental circumstances broke the ties that still bound Calvin to the Catholic church. His father had died under the ban; his eldest brother, though a clergyman, was at war with his ecclesiastical superiors; one of his relatives, Olivetanus, had gone over to Lutheranism. All these occurrences combined to break the external allegiance to a traditional faith to which his inner conviction no longer bound him. He renounced it in the decisive and thorough manner that was peculiar to him. He wrote for his friend, Nicolas Cop, professor of medicine in the Univer-

sity of Paris, on the occasion of his assuming the rectorship in 1583, a fierce attack on the "sophists of the Sorbonne," which was nothing less than a defense of the Protestant doctrines. This bold onslaught, proceeding from the highest academic position in France, wounded the orthodox party too grievously to pass unpunished. Cop had to flee to Basel; Calvin, whose authorship soon became known, had to keep himself concealed in various places under assumed names.

His stay in his fatherland soon became impossible. The violent uprising of the Anabaptists in Münster increased the dislike of King Francis for the Protestants, whom he held to be more or less identical with them. A violent popular pamphlet against the mass, which he found affixed to the door of his bed-room, threw him into a passion. He already, in fancy, saw himself surrounded by Anabaptists, burning and plundering churches and palaces. Bloody persecutions were begun and many victims sent to the stake.

Calvin saw several of his friends led to prison and to death. As unnecessary martyrdom had no attraction for him, he betook himself to Basel in the latter part of the year 1534. Here, in quiet retirement, he worked at a book that was to bring his oppressed French brethren aid and justification, and was even intended to convert Francis himself. The *Institutio Religionis Christianae* appeared in the spring of 1536. Later editions enlarged the work fivefold (1559), but all the leading thoughts of the great reformer already appear in this first essay of the youth of twenty-six. The penetrating insight and inexorable logic of his mighty intellect were revealed at once. The clear, incisive and polished style of the French version of the treatise, which made Calvin one of the creators of French prose, made his arguments still more effective and convincing.

The Protestantism of Luther and Zwingli was mainly historico-critical, the result, we might say, of a revision of Catholicism; Calvin's reformation was original, positive, self-grounded, and therefore bold and fanatical, like all purely dogmatic systems. All church traditions, even of the early days of Christianity, all elements of human reason, are carefully excluded from it. Calvin recognizes only one principle: the exclusive authority of Holy Scripture, verified and made alive by the witness of the Holy Spirit in the inner man. Luther had made the powerlessness of man to work out his own salvation, and the absolute necessity of the divine grace acting upon the human soul, the most prominent feature of his doctrine; for Zwingli, Christ had been the only way to salvation; but Calvin (Fig. 110) drew from this principle conclusions from which both Luther and Zwingli had recoiled. If divine



FIG. 110. -Portrait of John Calvin, in 1562. Facsimile of an engraving by René Boivin (1530-1598).

grace alone saves man, and this grace is denied to innumerable beings, then election is an absolutely free act of the divine sovereignty. God alone, in and through His only born Son, destines from the beginning every human being, without any merit or guilt of the latter, either to eternal salvation or to eternal damnation, and man has no right to complain of the decree of Omnipotence. This divine fore-election, this predestination, is unalterable, whatever man may do; he who has been "in the grace" can never lose it, and the condemned, "a vessel doomed to shame," is allotted to everlasting damnation. For man is nothing; his strength, his merits, his virtue, his guilt, are nothing. The all in all, the awful decisive cause, is the unchangeable, eternal decree of God.

It is the doctrine of predestination in its terrible sternness that impressed upon Calvinism its characteristic stamp. To such as considered themselves God's elect it imparted fearless, fanatical courage, inflexible endurance, and scorn for the non-elect. From Zwingli, Calvin accepted the principle that the church is the communion of the saints—but he understood it in a very different sense. The Zurich reformer meant by it the union of all those who have accepted Christ's doctrine; the Genevese comprehended only those elected by the grace of God in Christ—an entirely different conception. This communion of the saints must be kept up and developed by the strictest discipline, by constant and inflexible control. This control—and here we recognize again Wycliffe's and Zwingli's influence—is to be exercised not by a peculiar priesthood, for which there is no warrant in Scripture, but by the community of the elect, the "saints" themselves. Calvin never speaks of a "clergyman," but of a "minister" of God's word, freely selected by the community.

This democratic principle in matters ecclesiastical was destined to have an overwhelming influence on the political views of the disciples of Calvin, and to foster the formation of republican or semi-republican institutions. He expressly enjoins resistance to the authorities whenever they command anything contrary to God's will, and his disciples have on innumerable occasions carried out his injunction with arms in their hands.

For a while he feared lest the publication of his work should bring new persecutions upon his head. He seems to have left Basel before the final issue of it, to withdraw to Italy (1535). He certainly passed some time at the court of the Duchess of Ferrara, under an assumed name, as a French nobleman. The duchess herself and a constantly increasing number of distinguished people became his zealous disciples. But the authorities of the church soon found him out, and in the spring of 1536 he again had to flee. Tradition has adorned this part of his life with numerous legends of wonderful adventures. After a short stay in his

native land he started to go to a Protestant city of South Germany, but the war forced him to make a circuit, and this brought him to Geneva, where he meant to spend a single night. He found the city in great confusion. With the aid of Bern and Freiburg it had thrown off the authority of the Duke of Savoy, and when the bishop, a kinsman of the Savoyese dynasty, opposed the new-found liberty, its upholders, who from their alliance with the Swiss were called "Eidgenossen," in French "Huguenots," began to favor the Reformation, whose doctrines were ardently championed there by Guillaume Farel, a fiery Frenchman from Dauphiné. In the fall of 1530, Savoyese troops once more besieged the city, and fearfully devastated its fertile surroundings. But in this extremity Bern came to its relief, defeated the Savoyese, conquered Vaud, and finally rid Geneva of her old oppressors (spring of 1536). In the "Everlasting Peace," Bern guaranteed to Geneva complete independence, on condition, however, that the Genevese should form no alliance without the consent of their powerful friends.

The fight for liberty was thus successfully ended ; but in other respects the condition of the city was sad enough. Not only had prosperity, commerce, and industry grievously suffered, but moral and political order had been greatly relaxed by the long wars and the civil and religious dissensions through which the city had passed. Under these unfavorable conditions, Farel could not but feel that he was not equal to carry on alone the work of the Reformation. Just at this time an old friend recognized, at one of the city inns, in the thin young scholar with the pale, regular features, keen eyes, high forehead, and pointed beard, the author of the *Institutio*, already well known among all educated Protestants. He quickly imparted his discovery to Farel, who resolved at once to secure this excellent helper. Calvin at first objected, but in vain. "You prefer your studies," exclaimed the fiery southerner, "but I announce to you, in the name of Almighty God, that His curse will overtake you if you refuse us your aid in this work, and think more of self than of Christendom."

The young scholar, heretofore wholly inexperienced in public affairs, first proceeded modestly and humbly. Gradually, however, his clear preaching produced a profound effect, and his sharp and practical understanding won for him considerable influence in political as well as ecclesiastical affairs. This he used to satisfy his innate love of power and to establish his violent and intolerant doctrines. But by so doing he caused great dissatisfaction among the excitable, pleasure-loving population of Geneva—a dissatisfaction that was eagerly fomented by the Anabaptists and the Catholics. Bern declared herself against the radical

measures of Calvin and Farel, and the city council of Geneva pronounced, in April, 1538, a sentence of banishment against them and the other French preachers.

This was a very severe blow for Calvin. Whilst his friend Farel found at once a position in Neuchâtel, it was fully six months before he was himself called to the post of pastor of the large community of French refugees in Strasburg. The three years which he spent here in the midst of a great community, occupied with world-wide affairs and guided by trained politicians, broadened his views, while his principles were both modified and confirmed. Here, likewise, he entered into close relations with the German reformers, and, as a result, many differences were softened, and the common interests of Latin and German Protestantism were strengthened.

Meanwhile, in Geneva, after the departure of Calvin and Farel, disorders and bloody quarrels had soon arisen, and there was now a crying need of energetic and firm leadership. Calvin was besieged with pressing requests to overlook the past and return to the city. On September 13, 1541, he who three and a half years before had been driven out, re-entered its gates in the midst of the most brilliant manifestations of honor and welcome. He acted as a conqueror indeed; he assumed himself to be the chosen instrument of the Lord to establish His kingdom in Geneva. By his ordinances of January, 1543, he reorganized not only the church, but the state as well. It will remain a subject of wonder for all time, how a mere theologian could apply himself with such zeal and understanding to the most various technical questions, and treat and settle matters of law and administration in so wise and enduring a manner. The humble preacher of Noyon was certainly a great statesman.

The principle of authority was as thoroughly carried out in secular as in spiritual matters. Administrative and penal rules were inexorably stern and harsh. Imprisonment, torture, and death were inflicted for relatively slight offences, especially those against morals or religion. Within four years, among the fifteen thousand inhabitants of Geneva, there were between eight and nine hundred arrests, seventy-six sentences of banishment, and fifty-eight executions!

Calvin combined most intimately ecclesiastical and secular elements in an institution which exercised most important judicial authority, the "Consistory." This comprised the six chief pastors of the city and twelve lay elders chosen by the lesser council. Its duty was to watch over the conduct, morals, faith, and church attendance of every Genevese citizen; to condemn any one guilty of reprehensible behavior to public reproof, fines, or even excommunication; also, where it seemed needful,

to hand the culprit over to the temporal magistrate for further punishment. Anyone who played cards or even ninepins, who smiled during religious service, who allowed himself any pleasantry concerning the church, was publicly reprovèd and punished by the magistrates; dancing, playing, family and popular festivals were put under the ban; the consistory went so far as to close public-houses and to set up in their place city houses of entertainment, where prayers were dealt out more bountifully than drink.

In Geneva, Calvin realized his ideal of a state with a thoroughness and consistency as terrible as it was wonderful; a community was organized, compared with which all former theocracies appear thoroughly worldly, in which the material life was merely the necessary foundation of the higher religious life. Preaching took place almost every day, on Sundays four times, a heavy task for the ministers, indeed, but scarcely less so for the laity, who could not absent themselves from any of these services. A spirit of service and heroic but also harsh and intolerant piety pervaded the city. The Bible and the sword were the two inseparable tokens of Calvinism.

Calvin's victory was not won without a hard struggle. The gloomy character of the new administration, the repression of the popular element, and the judicial persecutions combined to render the situation intolerable to many. Especially the Genevese of the old stock, the genuine burghers of the city, who were attached to its liberties and hence called themselves the *libertins*, were the most pronounced opponents of this system of oppression, which was upheld mostly by the thousands of French refugees drawn thither by Calvin.

The latter saw the danger that threatened him and his work, and met it fearlessly, conscious as he was of being God's instrument and special protégé. He sought to render the leaders of the opposition harmless by prosecuting them; but at length his tyranny went too far. The Genevese chose, as chief-burgomaster, Perrin, Calvin's chief opponent, and as Bern once more took sides against the reformer and the French party, he had to submit to the passage of a number of humiliating measures (1547). Calvin, in his letters, bitterly complains of the power of his enemies, of the cowardice, selfishness, and lack of union among his own adherents. Relying on his heavenly mission, he waited impatiently for the hour of retribution. Meanwhile, he made a most skilful use of worldly means to hasten its coming. His repeated discomfiture in Geneva he attributed rightly enough to his strained relations with Bernese theologians and with the Zwinglians in general. With quick resolution he made up his mind to conclude a peace with them. In July, 1549, he went to Zurich

in company with Farel, and there joined Bullinger, the most prominent theologian of the Zwinglian school, in framing the so-called *Consensus Tigurinus* (Agreement of Zurich), which was renewed and enlarged in 1554, and finally accepted by all the reformed. This agreement, in brief, acknowledged that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper really contains the body of Christ, not materially, but through the uplifting of the believer's soul to heaven, where it comes into mystic contact with the body of the Lord. After this compact Calvin's power in the whole Reformed Church became greater than ever.

Calvin's personal position was also greatly affected for the better by the Zurich agreement. The Bernese were now no longer his opponents, but his allies. He became the revered and obeyed leader of the whole Reformed Church. How could a handful of old Genevese "patriots" and "libertins" any longer stand in his way? The union of Zurich was the most adroit and the most eventful act in the whole public career of Calvin.

He turned his newly won advantages to immediate profit. He first dealt with the foreign Protestants—French and Italian—who had sought refuge in Geneva. Every one of them who did not accept his views was imprisoned or banished, and distance did not, in the latter case, save him from the cruel hatred of the reformer. Many of these unfortunates, men of great talents and distinction, but lovers of free thought, were driven to the ground by his persecutions. The former general of the Capuchins, Bernardino Ochino, the Calabrian, John Valentine Gentile, who died on the scaffold at Zurich, on account of his anti-trinitarian views, are instances of this. Many other men, also, Calvin treated cruelly and harshly, but most of all, the Spanish thinker, Michael Servetus.

Servetus was born at Tudela, Navarre, in the year 1511. Descended from a noble family, he was expected, after completing his law studies, to assume a prominent position. But, filled with an ardent love for the truth, and with an eager desire to show that faith rests on reason and science, he devoted himself to the study of religious questions. He ventured to publish a work on the errors of the trinitarian doctrine, and boldly attacked this fundamental principle of Christian theology. In spite of the indignation that this work caused among Catholics and Protestants alike, Servetus brought out another, "Two Dialogues on the Trinity," in which Christ, as a God-like man, is held up as a model for all mankind.

The excitement against Servetus now grew so intense that he thought it best to hide, under the name of Michael of Villanueva—derived from his father's birthplace—and to occupy himself with works on medicine

and natural science. He was the first—anticipating Vesalius and Harvey—who rightly estimated the function of the lungs and their influence on the circulation of the blood. He found at length a patron and protector in the distinguished Archbishop of Vienne, Paulmier, and he would probably have closed his days in peace in that southern city, if he had not unfortunately attempted to win Calvin over to his religious views. The attempt was fruitless, and only resulted in bringing the reformer's wrath down upon Servetus's own head. Calvin denounced him to the Lyons Inquisition, and the well-grounded charge is made that he sent to its officials private letters of Servetus to him. He felt, in later years, the reproach that attached to this act, and denounced the charge as "a frivolous calumny."¹

Pursued by the Inquisition, Servetus resolved to flee in disguise to Italy. Passing through Geneva, he was recognized, arrested, and cast into prison. With Calvin's approval, he was subjected to the torture, denied a counsel, and was condemned to death by the magistrates of Geneva. Not because of the pantheistic views attributed to him, but never acknowledged by him, but because of his denial of the doctrine of the Trinity, and consequently of the divinity of Christ, he suffered death at the stake, October 27, 1553.²

The *libertins* had endeavored to save Servetus; this brought upon them Calvin's wrath, backed this time by the whole Swiss Reformed Church, of which he was the revered head. Calvin obtained the passage of a law conferring on the clergy the right to exclude every obnoxious member from the communion, thus not only depriving him of the consolations of religion, but also disgracing him socially. To render the old Genevese party still more helpless, his partisans, contrary to the spirit of the constitution, bestowed the right of citizenship on hundreds of French and Italian refugees. Finally, more completely to ruin their opponents, Calvin's adherents resorted to the usual means of tyrants and revolutionists, and raised the cry of conspiracy. Thus a bloody struggle

¹ Pieces of Servetus's letters were sent to the Inquisitors with a view to identifying his handwriting.—ED.

² The candid reader of history hardly needs to be reminded that the conduct of Calvin in the affair of Servetus, however repugnant to our ideas, was wholly in keeping with the spirit of the time, and was cordially approved by his contemporaries, even by so gentle a soul as Melancthon, to whom Calvin once wrote that were Servetus to come to Geneva he should never leave the city alive. Punishments of Draconian severity were the rule not only in Geneva, but elsewhere; if it was thought necessary to punish with death a small boy for showing disrespect for his father, much more should one who denied the divinity of Christ be sent to the stake. Apologists of Calvin point us to the fact that while the Grand Council of Geneva insisted that Servetus should be burned at the stake, Calvin asked for him—though in vain—the humaner death by the sword.—ED.

was started, which gave the desired pretext to deal severely with the leaders of the *libertins*. All of them who did not escape by speedy flight into Bernese territory were executed (1555). The goods of those who did flee were confiscated, in spite of the remonstrances of Bern.

Even the high consideration enjoyed by Calvin could not save him from very sharp criticism on account of his share in these cruelties. But he had thereby secured his aim; the people had to submit to his will. Geneva was henceforth the rock on which Calvinism erected its adamant fortress, the beacon to which all the reformed in France, the Netherlands, England and Italy looked up, and to which innumerable pilgrims flocked from far and near. Calvin selected the most gifted and learned among these and gave them appointments in the academy, which he founded in 1559, for the education of ministers among the French-speaking Protestants, and in which, besides theological lectures, they heard lectures on philosophy, philology and the natural sciences. Thousands came to this institution to become inspired with the spirit of the fearless reformer. The care taken of education was one of the most honorable features of Calvinism. In the immediate neighborhood of Geneva, in Lausanne, another academy arose, whose rector, Theodore of Beza, early became an unconditional admirer and adherent of Calvin. In his earlier years Beza had been a pleasure-loving, worldly-minded humanist, who had fled to Geneva on account of his liberal views, and had there developed into a zealous adherent of the strictest Calvinism.

Calvin was indefatigable; as preacher, writer and professor he labored incessantly for the Protestant cause. Although grievously afflicted, having lost his wife and his only son, with his always feeble constitution weakened by severe sickness, he never allowed his burning zeal to flag. His personal life was blameless; if several of his colleagues scarcely exacted of themselves in private the strict observances they enjoined upon others, no such reproach can be brought against him. His mode of living was by no means penurious, for, notwithstanding his considerable income and the rich presents he was constantly receiving, he left little behind; he depended upon costly wines to tone up his weak body, consumed by incessant activity. In spite of ailments, which in the latter part of his life seemed almost unendurable, he accomplished a really wonderful amount of work of all kinds—and every word that proceeded from his mouth or his pen bears the stamp of his sharp, agile mind, of his wise judgment, and of his passionate and ambitious temper.

On May 27, 1564, Calvin at last succumbed to slow disease; he was not quite fifty-five years of age.

His admirers have done him questionable service by representing him

as a martyr of his cause, as a suffering champion, as well as an unwearied one, for the purity of doctrine and of life. Calvin was, first of all, a great masterful character, intensely ambitious and imperious, full, also, of political sagacity and tact, skilled even in intrigue and the use of little means, if victory depended or seemed to depend upon them. But he placed his high talents and his entire personality in the service of a noble cause, in the service of the truth as he understood it, and this seemed to him to ennoble each of his measures, even his insincerities. His adversaries to him were also God's adversaries, whose destruction—for that they should be destroyed, he, according to the views of his time, made no doubt—might be compassed even by deception and violence. To what extent Calvin was a man of his time, to what extent that time demanded just such a man as he was, is shown not only by the great things he himself accomplished, but also by the fact that all his friends and followers were filled with his own spirit and followed closely in his ways. The soul of Calvin seems to inspire and to guide the Huguenots of France, the Presbyterians of Scotland, and the Ironsides of Cromwell. Unconditional surrender to the will of God, unlimited confidence in Him, a perfect assurance of belonging to the elect, and an earnest and glowing piety breathed in all these men. But, together with these virtues, they showed a fierce and relentless hatred of all who differed from them in faith, and they sought to exterminate them with sword and pen. Like their teacher and master, they knew how to combine, with strictest personal morality and a glowing faith, a large measure of practical worldly wisdom and political skill. Out of their midst arose a large proportion of those men who, for good or evil, have impressed their mark on the sixteenth century. So, in spite of their numerical inferiority, they succeeded in withstanding the terrible onslaught made against them by the pope and the church supported by Spain, then the foremost power of the world, under the guidance of its absolute ruler, Philip II.

CHAPTER X.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION IN SPAIN; PHILIP II.

THE anti-clerical movement which toward the close of the Middle Ages had pervaded Catholic Europe had made itself felt in Spain also, not so much among the common people, ardently devoted to the church, as among the learned class, many of whom longed for deeper and more genuine piety than the Catholicism of the day had to offer. The corruption of the clergy, general here as elsewhere in Europe, strengthened this tendency in the higher classes. An archbishop of Toledo, Alfonso Fonseca, and a Grand Inquisitor, Alfonso Manrique, openly expressed their approbation of the skeptical and anti-clerical writings of Erasmus, which had a large circulation in Spain. Several of the books of the Bible were translated into the popular tongue.

Under such circumstances, the close political relations which the election of Charles V. as emperor had established between Spain and Germany directed the attention of the learned and cultivated men of the former country to the labors of Luther. A few of his books, in Latin or Spanish, were to be found in the peninsula. For a long time, however, no one dared to declare himself outright for the views of the Wittenberg reformer. But outside of Spain, a few of her sons, whose affairs had brought them into contact with Protestants, openly joined the new faith; among these were Juan Valdés, the reformer of Naples, and his elder brother, Alfonso, chief secretary of the emperor, and Juan Diaz, who openly joined the Lutherans in Germany, and was, in consequence, treacherously assassinated by his own brother. A more important conquest for the new doctrines was Francis of Enzinas, who studied in Wittenberg and there became Melanchthon's friend. Urged by the latter, he translated the New Testament into Spanish and published it at Antwerp, in 1543. Hunted by the imperial Inquisitors, he fled from the Netherlands, and spent the remainder of his brief life in England and Germany. His brother James and his friend, Francis of San Roman, who shared his views, fell victims to the Inquisition.

Gradually, notwithstanding all the perils in its path, the Reformation won adherents in Spain itself. Its first entre was the great and wealthy

commercial city of Seville, which at the time was thronged with strangers of all classes. The most distinguished champion of the new doctrines was the learned canon, Juan Gil, surnamed Doctor Aegidius. His sermons, in which he expressed himself on the whole guardedly, produced great effect. He was twice cast into prison by the Inquisition, and died in 1556. This, however, did not put an end to Protestant propagandism in Seville; on the contrary, hundreds of persons of all classes and every degree gathered together for Lutheran worship, meeting often in subterranean caves, like the first Christians. Thousands of heretical books were smuggled into Spain from Antwerp and Geneva.

What Seville was to Southern Spain, Valladolid was to the northern provinces. The Protestant community there had been founded by an Italian officer, Charles of Seso, and soon counted among its members several noblemen and ladies, monks, nuns, clergymen, and laymen of every sort. From Valladolid the new doctrines spread into the neighboring cities, until a deadly antagonist arose against them in the person of the new Spanish king.

Philip II. was born on May 21, 1527. His mother was Isabella, daughter of Emanuel the Great of Portugal. We have in the letters of his instructors to the emperor very full information concerning his early years. According to the custom of the day, he was left till his seventh year in the care of the ladies of the family, especially his distinguished mother, who united to all womanly virtues a masculine strength and firmness of character. Then he was entrusted to the supervision of two learned men. Juan Martinez de Siliceo, a professor at Salamanca, imparted to him a fair knowledge of Roman antiquity, so that Philip remained always a good Latinist, and of French and German, which the prince spoke and wrote fluently. He studied the fine arts, also, and during all his life took an intelligent interest in architecture. Siliceo, a gentle, yielding man, was over-indulgent toward his royal pupil, partly from interested motives. The tutor proper of the prince, Don Juan de Zuñiga, of Castile, was a man of wholly different stuff. A member of one of the oldest and foremost families of Spain, he had preserved his firmness of character and independence of speech through many years of life at court. His royal charge never in later life reproached him for the severe and pointed reproofs which at the time he bore impatiently enough, but showed toward him the same steadfast good-will and gratitude as toward the complaisant Siliceo.

But neither indulgence nor severity could make a deep impression on Philip, who, from the first, showed that cool self-possession that remained a characteristic through life. There was in him no trace of the frank,

open, fearless temper of youth. As early as his tenth year he was quiet, dignified, guarded in speech and action, averse to all exercise, and without any free, magnanimous impulses.

The sickly and melancholy constitution that Charles V. had inherited from his mother, Joanna, caused him early to entertain the thought of transferring the burden of affairs to the shoulders of his son. He had him, therefore, share in state affairs when yet quite young. In his seventeenth year he administered, nominally at least, the government of Spain while his father was waging his fourth great campaign against his indefatigable enemy and rival, Francis I. of France. The only human and youthful passion of Philip, so to speak, was his fondness for women; to preserve him from the moral and physical dangers which might result from this, was perhaps the main reason why Charles V. chose about this time (1542) a wife for his son, then scarcely more than a boy. Maria of Portugal, a few months younger than Philip, was betrothed to him in the autumn of 1543 with brilliant festivities. But the wedlock was a short one. Two years later Maria died in giving birth to a son, the unfortunate Don Carlos. She was sincerely mourned by her husband.

At the age when other youths have scarcely entered upon life, Philip (PLATE XIII.) had tasted in fullest measure of its joys, its honors, and its sorrows. He had been a husband, a father, a widower; he had held the government of a great empire—what had life still to offer him to satisfy his ardent ambition and religious zeal?

A few years later (1548) Charles, who had never lost sight of his purpose to divest himself more and more of his authority in favor of his son, summoned Philip to Brussels to present him to the Netherlands estates as his successor. The journey was to make the young prince acquainted with the vastness of the realm he was so soon to govern. So he travelled through Italy, Germany, and Flanders. Unfortunately, the result did not correspond to the emperor's expectations.

Philip was of medium stature, or rather less, and of slender build; his features were regular; he had a high forehead, a shapely nose, and large blue eyes; his mouth was large, and, according to the hereditary Hapsburg way, deformed by a thick, projecting under lip; his hair was light blond, an inheritance from his German ancestry. Slowness of motion and a stiff, chilling dignity already distinguished this young man of twenty-two. According to the fashion of his time, he shared in knightly exercises, and by medical advice followed the chase, but at bottom he hated all bodily activity, and much preferred to consider private and public affairs with a few trusted ministers in the quiet of his cabinet. He tried hard to show himself to his future subjects as a

PLATE XIII.



King Philip II. of Spain.

Painting by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640). Madrid. (From a photograph.)

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friendly, frank, liberal prince, but in vain. His liberalities were forced, and in spite of them men deemed him of a miserly nature. It was impossible for him to adapt himself to the customs and manners of the Italians, Germans, and Flemish; his preference for the Spaniards and

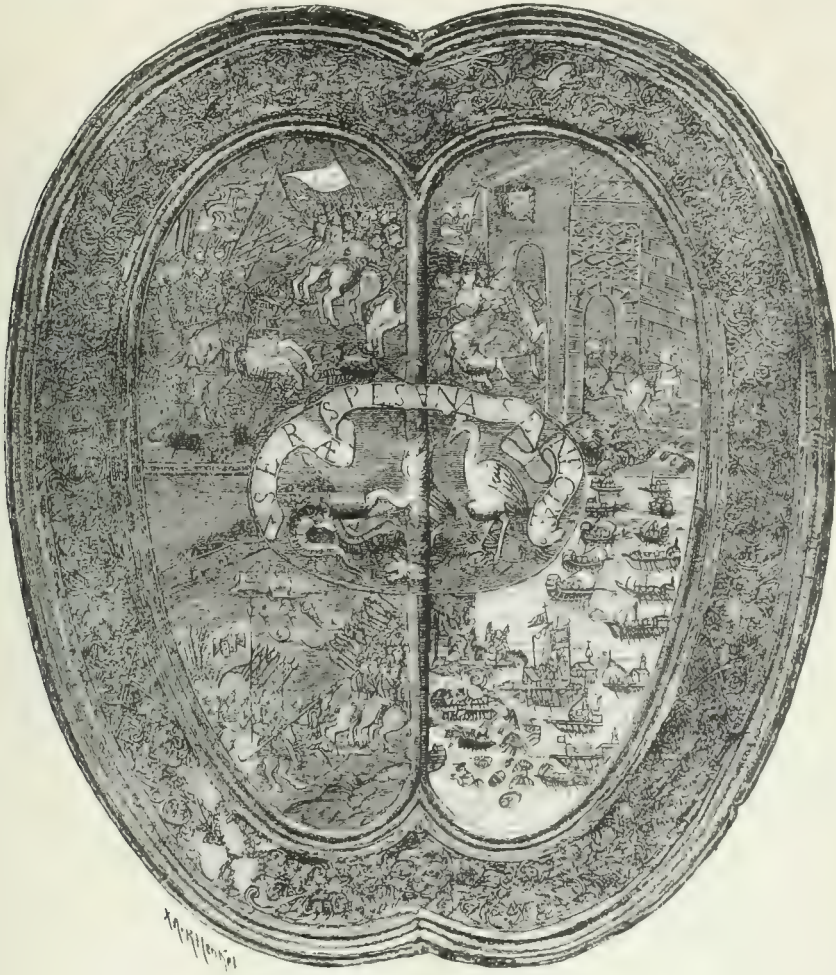


FIG. 111. Shield of Philip II. (Madrid.)

their ways always manifested itself, to the great dissatisfaction of his other subjects.

He treated the Italian princes who gathered about him with such scorn that the whole peninsula was filled with complaints of his arrogance. To the merry, pleasure-loving Netherlanders his cold demeanor

and his sour, stern temper were intolerable. In Germany it was even worse; there the pride of the Spanish king met and offended pride scarcely inferior to his own. Men said Philip (Fig. 111) claimed he was greater than his father, for Charles was but the son of a king, but he, Philip, was the son of an emperor. The journey of the Spanish claimant to Germany made impracticable Charles's strong desire to secure the imperial crown for his son.

But the emperor's restless ambition soon found a compensation. Germany, it is true, was lost to Philip, but the crown of England might offset this loss. Mary Tudor, who had recently ascended the English throne (1553), wished, to strengthen herself in her reactionary policy, to form a matrimonial alliance with the young Spanish prince, and the latter was quite ready to take a wife eleven years older than himself for the sake of drawing England into the circle of Spanish politics. To make his rank equal to the queen's, Charles surrendered to him the kingdom of Naples. The marriage took place in the summer of 1554. Philip had no real affection for his second wife, and left England as soon as possible. "The queen," wrote Ruy Gomez to Spain, "is a good soul, but older than we were told;" and when it became certain that Mary would remain childless, and her frequent illnesses pointed to an early death, all reasons for Philip's prolongation of his stay in England ceased.

In 1555-1556, Charles abdicated his rule over his non-German dominions in favor of his son. The latter found himself master of an immense empire that brought to the ruler the resources of three continents. He was sovereign over many lands, a single one of which would have made its ruler respected. It can hardly be said that Philip's contemporaries expected great things of him. He worked hard, and gave careful attention to all matters, public or private, that were brought before him; but in his resolutions he was very slow, and apparently averse to all vigorous dealings. His principal councillor was Ruy Gomez, a Portuguese, whom he had made Count of Melito, and, later, Prince Eboli, and who was popularly called "Rey" or "King" Gomez. Next to him in the king's favor was Bishop Antoine Perrenot de Granvella, a bold, ambitious, faithful man, who often wished to act with a celerity that his more prudent master did not approve.

By a strange freak of fortune it happened that Philip, the champion of Catholicism, had for his first antagonist the church itself.

Charles V., in his eagerness to secure for his son a peaceful beginning as monarch, had concluded with the French, at Vaucelles, an armistice quite disadvantageous to Spain. Paul IV., the occupant of the

papal chair, had long been an adherent of France; he hated the Spaniards with all the ardor of his fiery nature, and at table, after his heavy Neapolitan wine, would call them "heretics, accursed of God, dregs of the earth, off-spring of Jews and of Moors." He meant, with the aid of the French, to drive them out of Italy. His wicked nephew, Carlo Caraffa, whom he had raised to the cardinalate, urged on his uncle, hav-



FIG. 112.—The Duke of Alba. Reduced facsimile of a contemporary engraving by F. Hogenberg (died 1590).

ing reasons of his own for this. Paul prevailed upon the French to break the armistice, and laid the emperor and his son under excommunication. Philip took up the gauntlet unhesitatingly, and, with the sanction of the Spanish theologians, who were wholly devoted to their young king, ordered the viceroy of Naples to march with an army into the States of the Church. This viceroy was none other than Don Fernando Alvarez of Toledo, Duke of Alva (Fig. 112). Sprung from the most

distinguished family of Spain, grandson of the conqueror of Navarre, Alva, then in his fiftieth year, was a tall, spare man, with a small head, harsh, gloomy features, and dark complexion. For his unbounded self-conceit and sour, ill-natured temper, he was universally hated. Still his great experience in political and military affairs rendered him indispensable to the king. Alva had no difficulty in scattering the cowardly troops of the pope, and forced Paul to ask for a forty days' armistice (November, 1556), which left all the fortresses of the southern part of his possessions in the hands of the hated Spaniard. But no sooner did the Duke of Guise, the famous defender of Metz, draw near to the Roman frontier at the head of a French army, than Paul resumed hostilities,—without success, however, for the Spaniards retained the advantage. Quarrels arose between Guise and the papal generals, and the former readily made the disasters to the French forces in the Netherlands a pretext for leaving Italy, where there were evidently no new laurels for him to gather. Paul had to make peace with the Spaniards (autumn, 1557), merely binding himself to observe neutrality. It was not so much piety and submissiveness to the pope that led Philip to grant such easy conditions, as the consideration that his whole political programme, both foreign and domestic, rested upon a strict orthodoxy, and that whilst this admitted, perhaps, of little disagreements with the papacy, it was not compatible with a permanent and irreconcilable antagonism to it.

In the Netherlands also victory had declared itself for the Spanish arms. Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, who commanded Philip's forces, and hoped to recover the lands seized by the French, inflicted an overwhelming defeat at St.-Quentin (August 10, 1557) on Constable Montmorency, took him prisoner, and carried the town by assault. He might have marched upon Paris, and Charles V., from his retreat at St. Juste, urged him to do so, but Philip thought it wise to interfere, and assumed personally the command of the Spanish army. A few small strongholds were taken, but the French were allowed to recover morally and materially, and to raise a new army with which to retrieve their fortunes. Philip was so hard pressed for money that he had to dismiss the larger part of his brave army, and in reality gained little from this campaign, although the brilliant victory of St.-Quentin cast new lustre upon Spanish arms. Philip erected, as a votive offering to the patron saint of the day of the battle, St. Laurence, the enormous convent of the Escorial, giving it the form of a gridiron, according to the tradition, which says that the saint was burnt upon one. The traveller is still shown the cell in which Philip, himself unseen, watched the devotions of the monks.

The French, now under the command of Guise, had no intention of

carrying on the war in the slow and deliberate manner Philip had chosen. They profited by the momentary weakness of the Spaniards to attack the territory of their allies, the English, and in a few days became masters of Calais, the last possession of the English in French territory, the only trophy left them of the glorious victories of two centuries before at Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. All France shouted with joy at a success which at length blotted out permanently the disgrace of the English conquests. Then the victorious armies overran Luxemburg and Flanders. Yet, in the open field, the French were, on the whole, inferior in disciplined valor to the Spaniards, and Lamoral, Count of Egmont, with only 14,000 men, attacked at Gravelines on June 13, 1558, the division of the French army commanded by Marshal de Termes, and almost totally destroyed it.

Still, this victory was not important enough to exert a decisive influence on the issue of the war; it simply restored the equilibrium between the French and Spanish. Meanwhile, both kings were growing weary of a contest that had lasted, with no decisive result, for a half century, and had proved terribly ruinous to their subjects. Philip was by nature rather averse to war; Henry II. had seen his armies defeated in two battles, his favorite Montmorency taken prisoner, and the hated Guise family raised to new glory by these campaigns. Another cause tended to bring the adversaries to terms. Not in the Netherlands alone, but also in France and even in Spain, Protestantism was growing more and more bold, and the two monarchs, both zealous Catholics, wished to unite their efforts against the heretics. In April, 1559, the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis was signed. It restored to Spain and Savoy all places taken by the French—some two hundred fortresses; England and Germany paid the costs—the former by the loss of Calais, the latter by that of the three Lorraine bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun.

After the conclusion of the peace, the negotiations for which he had conducted with remarkable skill, Philip returned to Spain to crush rising Protestantism with an iron hand.

It happened that in 1558 a widespread association of heretics had been discovered at Zamora. The Inquisition acted with great vigor; more than a thousand persons were imprisoned, in Seville alone over eight hundred. During the last weeks of his life, Charles V. had, with fierce fanaticism, urged the relentless prosecution and execution of the accused. Philip himself, his half-brother, Don John of Austria, his young son, Don Carlos, and the highest dignitaries of Spain, witnessed the *autos da fé*, at which hundreds of victims, among them many young women of noble birth, were strangled or burned at the stake. On one

of these occasions the king drew his sword and swore to defend the Inquisition, its servants and its decrees. "If my son," he exclaimed, "were to turn heretic, I would myself bring the fagot to consume him"—terrible words, which were to be realized later, though under somewhat different conditions.

These violent measures were perfectly successful. Protestantism was rooted out in Spain. A few cases of Lutheran heresy appear during the following centuries, it is true, but at long intervals, and of minor importance. The silence of spiritual death spread over Spain; every one trembled lest a careless word or gesture should bring him under suspicion of heterodoxy. Imagine what effect such fear must have had on the intellectual development of the people. They who wished to retain their freedom of thought fled to Geneva, to Germany, or to England. Not a few men and women, whom the Catholic Church in later times placed among the saints, spent some of their days in the dungeons of the Inquisition. Philip secured the religious and political unity of his Spanish lands, but at what price? Not only the spiritual and intellectual, but also the material growth of his people was dwarfed by the crushing weight of a double despotism—religious and political.

Notwithstanding this, Philip was by no means an obedient and submissive son of the Holy See. As ruler of the most powerful Catholic empire, as defender and protector of the church, as a most orthodox believer in her doctrines, he thought himself entitled to some influence over her. Orthodoxy and Spanish interests seemed to him inseparable, nay, equivalent. He therefore never hesitated to enter into a conflict with the pope when the latter seemed to him to assail the political interests of Spain, or when he refused to promote in the church the religious doctrines that Spain maintained. Besides, Philip was too much a despot not to deny the Curia all interference with the internal concerns of the Spanish clergy. He alone appointed to all spiritual offices, and by these appointments bound indissolubly to his throne the whole clergy and the lower nobility. The supreme royal tribunal, the "Council of Castile," was competent to hear appeals from the decisions of all spiritual courts, and often did so. Nay more, all kinds of papal decrees, even in matters of faith, might be "retained"—that is, really declared invalid in Spain—by the king and his council. Every clergyman who in any way violated this royal prerogative was thereby deposed and forever debarred from filling any religious office. This almost absolute dependence upon the king tended to make the clergy strongly royalist, which the pope was quick to see and to resent. The great wealth of the church—its annual income amounted to thirty-five millions of dollars of our day—furnished the

HOUSE OF HAPSBURG:
Possessions about 1560.

1 Castile
2 Aragon
3 Burgundy in possessions

Other regions shown include: France, the Netherlands, Italy, the Ottoman Empire, and various other European territories. A legend in the bottom left corner explains the color-coding and includes a note about the Holy Roman Empire.

Map.—Possessions of the House of Hapsburg about 1560.

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king an inexhaustible source of supply. The popes more than once tried to shake off the oppressive protectorate of the Spanish monarch, but they were always unsuccessful. With the Spaniards, the faith was a personal and national matter ; they deemed themselves indispensable to its preservation. Their political ambitions were always tinged with fanaticism ; their fanaticism was never free from political ambition. The combined result of these two forces gave the policy of Philip II. and his servants a frightful vigor and obstinacy that confidently faced every obstacle, feeling itself appointed by heaven to overcome and destroy it. It were a mistake to consider Philip as a tyrant in the usual meaning of the term. In private, especially in his family relations, he was gentle, mild, and patient ; but in public affairs he looked upon his inexorable sternness, his deadly hatred of every free movement, and his almost naïvely insatiable love of power, as duties, as the tokens of the task which heaven had imposed upon him. Of all Spaniards he preferred the Castilians, whose ardent patriotism and loyalty made them fittest to serve him, and among them he chose his confidential councillors, judges, and governors. “ Italians, Flemish, Germans,” the Venetian envoy, Suriano, wrote, as early as 1559, “ have no share in secret deliberations ; the Spaniards are like elder sons, more prized and more favored ; the rewards and honors are theirs.” (PLATE XIV.)

The king’s ministers formed two parties, at the head of which were respectively the Duke of Alva and Ruy Gomez ; the latter personally a greater favorite with the king, the former influential mostly on account of his military successes and his steadiness and firmness of character. The hostility and frequent friction between these two men could not fail to increase that chronic procrastination which was the great defect of the Spanish administration. Philip preferred to have his ministers disagree ; it prevented any one of them becoming too powerful, and left the final decision always to him, which he gave only after long deliberation. Every document must run its course through the various departments, every fact be set down most circumstantially in writing ; then the king wrote suggestions and objections on the margin, and considered the whole. Nothing was more injurious to Philip’s affairs than this excessive slowness of decision. Then, when he had made up his mind, he held on to his resolution in spite of the greatest difficulties, not infrequently in the very face of impossibility. This obstinacy and slowness prevented him from ever becoming a skilful and successful statesman.

Philip’s European possessions contained a population of twenty millions. France had then a little more than half, England about a quarter of that number. The financial resources of his realm were

proportionate to its population. His revenues amounted to five and a half million ducats, equivalent to thirty-three million dollars of our time. Yet the expenditures were always in excess of this enormous sum, and to make up the deficit the government resorted to the pernicious means of selling dignities and offices, and to extraordinary taxes—carefully imposed on subject states, so as to spare the Spaniards themselves.

No wonder that these burdens, added to the overbearing conduct of the Spaniards, created in the subject provinces of Milan, Sicily, and Naples the bitterest hate. In Naples the people rose in actual rebellion, and Philip was obliged to grant them certain concessions. The shameful robberies and ruthless violence of Spanish officials and soldiers made the parts of Italy subject to Spain long, with intense fervor, for a return of the old independence. But Philip, in spite of studious and incessant care, could never make a success of his finances, and the pay of his soldiers and servants was often years in arrears.

The condition of Spain was, at this time, that of a nation in decadence. In one respect alone did it maintain unimpaired its old superiority. Its army was still the best in the world in bravery, discipline and organization. It combined the indefatigable endurance and calm intrepidity of the Spaniard with the fire of the Italian, and the strength and brawn of the Walloon. The 30,000 men that Philip kept constantly in his pay formed the largest standing army in Europe. But the great extent of the Spanish empire, and the vast distances that separated its scattered portions, made even this strong force altogether inadequate. In every serious emergency a special levy of troops had to be made, a thing which the depleted condition of the royal treasury often rendered very difficult. This explains Philip's strong disinclination to great wars at the beginning of his reign.

However, Spain was never false to the duty assigned to her by Charles V. of being the champion of the Catholic world against the Turks. It is true that the struggle against these latter was a struggle for the political and military supremacy of the Mediterranean. The Turkish empire, far superior in resources to Spain, was then at the height of its power. Solymán II. (1520–1566), surnamed the Magnificent—a better deserved title would have been the Terrible—was then at its head. He had nothing less in mind than the complete subjugation of the Christian world. One European power alone dared attack him—Spain. The beginnings of the war were far from favorable to the Christians, but in the end the intrepid persistency of the Castilian proved stronger than the wild courage of the Turk. The fortresses of Mazarquivir and Oran were successfully held against far superior Turkish forces; Peñon de

Velez, on the Morocco coast, was taken, and the Tetuan River, a favorite refuge of Barbary pirates, was blockaded. In 1563 a Spanish fleet forced the Turks to raise the siege of Malta, which had cost them 30,000 men,—thanks to the heroic defence of the Knights of St. John and their grand-master, Lavalette—a brilliant victory of the Cross over the Crescent.

Philip fought Islam in his own dominions also. In the southern and eastern provinces of Spain lived several hundred thousand Moriscos, that is, descendants of the Moors, once masters of the peninsula. Contrary to the express stipulations of treaties, they had been forced to become Christians. But their conversion was simply apparent; at heart they remained true to the faith and customs of their fathers. They were peaceful, industrious people, and it is to them alone that Southern Spain owed her admirable agricultural condition. Philip, urged by fanatic priests and greedy judges, determined to do away with this remnant of “heathenism.” After several preparatory ordinances, in the year 1556, the same in which he sent Alva to the Netherlands, he decreed that within three years the Moriscos must cease using the Arabic tongue, must lay aside their ancestral customs and dress, and must conform themselves wholly to the Castilian mode of living. Even their popular songs and dances, their warm baths, so dear to the Orientals, were strictly forbidden; they must no longer express their joy and their sorrow in the dear old forms. Entreaties did not avail the Moriscos; their prayers met only with increased contempt and ill-treatment. At length their patience was worn out. A descendant of the Abencerrages, the last rulers of Granada, Faraj-Abu-Faraj, gave the signal for rebellion in the wild mountain region south of Granada, by murdering all the Christians he could lay his hands upon (end of 1568). The Moriscos then chose as their king an assumed descendant of the Omayyad califs of Cordova, Abu-Humeya, who organized with real skill the whole rebellion and won several victories over the Spaniards. But the insurgents, unused to arms, could not, in spite of all their bravery, hold out against the disciplined Spanish regiments. Philip’s half brother, Don John of Austria (Fig. 113), ended the war, which had been carried on by both parties with terrible cruelty, by a decisive victory (March, 1571). This rising left the Moriscos much worse than before. They were forbidden to use a single word of Arabic; they were the object of incessant spying, suspicion and petty persecutions from the king, the Inquisition and the nobles; and they were crushed under innumerable burdens. Philip’s heartless love of autocratic power and his despotic fanaticism, here as elsewhere, scattered sorrow and death.

Meanwhile, war with the Turks had broken out again. Solyman’s



FIG. 113. Don John of Austria. Painting by Alonso Sanchez Coello (1515-1590). (Madrid.)

successor, Selim II., had made an attack upon the beautiful and prosperous island of Cyprus. The republic of Venice, to which Cyprus then belonged, finding itself too weak to resist the Turkish power, asked Pius V. for aid. This bold and able pontiff determined to place himself at the head of a general Christian league against the unbelievers. Its chief members, besides the pope and Venice, were Spain, Genoa and Malta. Eager volunteers came in large numbers to serve under the admiral of the Christian fleet, no less a person than Don John of Austria. Don John, the son of Charles V. and a German woman, Barbara

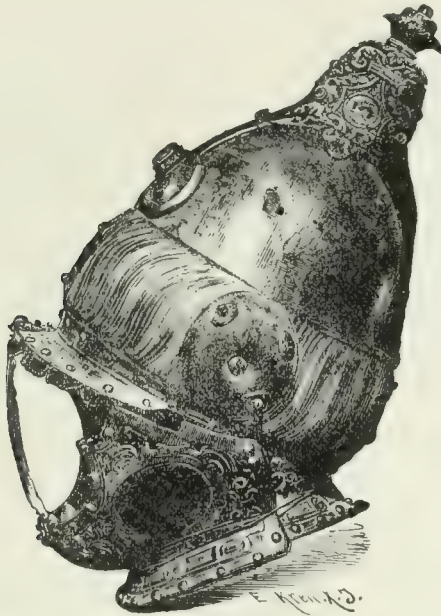


FIG. 114.—Turkish helmet: from the booty at Lepanto. (Madrid.)

Blomberg, of Ratisbon, was born in 1547. As long as he lived, Charles had kept him in obscurity and want, but in his will had recommended him to his successor. Philip, a loving and dutiful son, summoned the youth to his court and had him carefully trained in letters and in the art of war. The young prince absolutely refused the cardinal's hat destined for him, preferring vastly the profession of arms and the pleasures of a secular life. The king appointed him grand-admiral and entrusted him with important commands, in which he showed himself a competent leader. Don John was of medium height, well knit together; his blond moustache gave his countenance a military cast, whilst the abundant blond hair that fell upon his shoulders idealized it. He dressed

elegantly and richly, was skilled in all knightly exercises, and expressed himself tastefully and even eloquently. Altogether, he was a charming character. It must be confessed that the sudden change in his fortunes had filled him with an exaggerated idea of his claims and personal advantages; he was vain, overbearing and boundlessly ambitious. But these faults were, in part at least, carefully concealed by him, and, besides, may well be forgiven one in his circumstances.

The new admiral came too late to save Cyprus, but not too late to inflict, on October 7, 1571, a crushing defeat upon the great Turkish fleet gathered in the gulf of Lepanto (Figs. 114, 115). The Turkish ad-



FIG. 115.—Medal in honor of the battle of Lepanto. Original size. (Berlin.)

miral, Ali Pasha, was killed, 20,000 of his force slain or taken prisoners, more than 100 of his ships destroyed and 130 captured. The fairest trophy of the conquerors was 12,000 Christian galley slaves rescued from a terrible bondage.

The immediate results of this great victory were less decisive than they ought to have been, owing to disagreements among the members of the league, which, in fact, went to pieces soon after. But the indirect results were extremely important. The superiority of the Turks on the sea was broken forever; the flower of their army was cut down; from Lepanto dates the decay of their power. The Spaniards can hardly be blamed for attributing to themselves mainly the merit of this brilliant triumph.

While the Spanish king was upholding everywhere, within his realm and without, the cause of Spanish and Catholic supremacy, there occurred within his own family a tragedy which shows significantly his terrible recklessness. His only son, Don Carlos, had, by the death of his mother and the long absence of his father, been early left without parental oversight. Philip had, it is true, tried to secure for him the best possible training, but to little effect. His teachers complained of a violence of disposition in him, an indocility and restlessness only equalled by his

aversion for all occupation, intellectual and physical. He had a weak body and a bilious complexion ; he was in every respect a disagreeable youth. His grandfather, the emperor, could not endure him, and foreign ambassadors noticed his coarseness and ignorance. In his seventeenth year, when hastening down some stone steps to a rendezvous with a girl, he fell and struck on the back of his head ; for a while he hovered between life and death. An operation performed by the celebrated Vesalius, the founder of anatomical science, saved him ; but he himself ascribed his cure solely to the miraculous efficacy of the bones of the holy monk, Diego, whose canonization he therefore earnestly besought of the pope. This and many other things done by him show that it is a mistake to ascribe to him, as has often been done, liberalism and Protestant tendencies. During all his lifetime he was an invalid ; he remained small, ugly, and deformed ; he was violent, averse to all labor, and immoderate in his eating and drinking. The relations between him and his father grew more and more strained, as the two were so wholly different in tastes and temper. Philip, reasonably enough, never would entrust to him any affairs of state. We cannot find that he endeavored by kindness and affection, to which Carlos was certainly susceptible, to win over the unfortunate youth. The only person for whom the prince felt any real affection was his stepmother, Philip's third wife, Catharine of Valois. She felt pity for him, but nothing in the relations of this noble woman with the unfortunate Carlos, so greatly her inferior in mind and body, affords the least justification for the story told by the scandal-loving Brantôme.

An opposition party—for such existed even at court, much more in the provinces—won the confidence of the young prince, and urged him on against his father. This it was found easy to do, as Carlos was indignant at Philip for throwing obstacles in the way of his marriage with his cousin, Anna, daughter of Emperor Maximilian II. He expected from this union greater personal independence. Philip, on the other hand, thought him too young to marry, and refused his consent. In his anger Carlos gave himself up to the lowest excesses ; his violence and cruelty to men and beasts were like those of a maniac. In this temper he fell easily into the snares of the opposition. They made him believe that he should be sent to the Netherlands as viceroy. When Alva was appointed to this post, Carlos drew his dagger upon him and sought to stab him. He became thenceforth the most zealous champion of the Netherlanders. Every act or resolve of his father he criticised most bitterly, and found fault with everything going on at court.

After a while, however, a change for the better seemed to take place

in the prince, and Philip's treatment of his son underwent a corresponding transformation. He assigned him the presidency of the councils of state and of war, as well as the independent management of the several offices, and increased his allowance to the liberal sum of 100,000 ducats. Unfortunately, the improvement was not lasting. After a few weeks the prince resumed his excesses; he contracted enormous debts—often resorting to violence to obtain the money; he neglected all the important affairs entrusted to him; in short, he proved himself utterly inefficient and unreliable. Then he attacked his father openly, reviled him, and even threatened him. He confessed to the Prior of Atocha that he entertained murderous feelings toward his father. The monk communicated this to Philip. Carlos also informed his uncle, Don John



FIG. 116. —Medal with portrait of Don Carlos (aged twelve). Size of original. (Berlin.)

of Austria, of his intention to flee from Spain, and the latter (December, 1567) deemed it his duty to apprise Philip of it. The king then determined to carry out an intention he had entertained for months. He had long seen that Carlos was altogether unfit to assume the government of a great empire and to further the far-reaching plans, political and religious, which he, Philip, had conceived. He had more than once thought of seizing and imprisoning the prince, who, he felt certain, was plotting a civil war. We cannot blame him for hesitating no longer; still, there is something terrible in the quiet manner in which he personally conducted the affair, exposing himself to the wild insults of the young madman. His only answer was a stern "I will treat you no longer as

a father, but as a king." These words doomed Carlos. He was completely shut off from the world. In his rage he tried to kill himself, first by starvation, then by gorging himself with food, and finally with ice-cold drinks. The last method succeeded, and on July 24, 1568, he died, with manifestations of profound piety.

Philip, it may be said, had not actually murdered his son outright; nevertheless, he must be considered the cause of his son's death, for it was his inflexible refusal to listen to the prince's entreaties during his six months' imprisonment that drove the unfortunate Carlos to self-destruction (Fig. 116).

Queen Elizabeth died a few months later, leaving her husband two daughters, Isabella and Catharine, but no son. The king married soon afterward, as his fourth wife, the very person whom Carlos had so ardently wished for his bride, Anna, daughter of Maximilian II. She gave birth to the male heir so ardently desired, and the king called him after his own name.

Meanwhile, Philip's favorite, Eboli, had died; Alva prolonged his stay in the Netherlands, and fell into disgrace. The successors of these two men—Cardinals Espinosa and Quiroga—were far from having an equal influence over the monarch. The most important minister was a man of humble origin, the secretary Antonio Perez, who is associated with some of the most tragic passages in Philip's later life. The rule of the king during this period was far more immediate and personal than in former years.

His attention was directed mainly to three countries—France, the Netherlands, and Great Britain. In all three he assumed the rôle of defender of Catholicism against Calvinistic heresies.

CHAPTER XI.

THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN FRANCE.

SINCE the last years of Francis I. the danger that France might, like Germany, become divided into two hostile halves, one Catholic, the other Protestant, had been constantly increasing. No repressive measures, no persecutions, had been able to root out Protestantism; on the contrary, it had been making steady, even rapid progress, among the cultured and aristocratic classes. Catholicism could not logically concede to this heresy the right of existing; hence a struggle was inevitable. Many sincere patriots, many wise statesmen, tried their best to avert it—but the natural intolerance, the irreconcilable hate of these two confessions, rendered their efforts futile.

For long years Calvin entertained the hope of converting his native land to his views. His messengers or his letters were ever on their way to France, sent to towns or to individuals of note. Thousands of Frenchmen flocked to Geneva for instruction, and from the middle of the sixteenth century Protestantism in France is practically synonymous with Calvinism.

The successor of Francis I., Henry II. (Fig. 117), was handsome and stately, but without talent, and wholly under the influence of his favorites. His mistress was Diana of Poitiers, whom he made duchess of Valentinois, a lovely, prudent, refined lady. Another favorite was the Constable of France, Anne of Montmorency, a stern, rude soldier, thoroughly devoted to his king and country. The Guise family contended with him for the control of the king; they were a lateral branch of the ducal family of Lorraine, were descended from a brother of St. Louis, and had been settled in France for generations. They soon acquired great wealth and power. At their head, at the period we have reached, were Francis, a distinguished soldier, and his brother, Charles, Cardinal-Archbishop of Rheims, more generally known as the Cardinal of Lorraine, a prelate of great learning and penetrating intellect, but cunning, crafty and immeasurably ambitious. One of their sisters had married King James V. of Scotland. Montmorency and the Guises, in most things bitter antagonists, agreed on one point perfectly—their hatred of the heretics. Popular persecution joined hands with official



FIG. 117. Henry II., King of France. Reduced facsimile of the engraving by Étienne de Laulne (1510-1595).

condemnation, yet, in spite of all, Calvinism grew apace and drew unto itself large numbers of the noblest of France. The first well-organized Protestant community was gathered in Paris in the year 1555. Three years later the number of adherents in the whole realm must have amounted to 400,000. The common people remained firmly attached to the old religion; it was mostly noblemen, judges, savants and artists, that turned to the Reformation.

Several princes of the blood, of the Bourbon branch, were among its followers. It was under Louis IX. that this house had become united with the royal family of Valois. Meanwhile, all nearer royal branches having become extinct, it stood next to the throne. Its head was Duke Antoine of Vendôme, by his marriage titular king of Navarre, of which kingdom the Spaniards had left him only the small district of Béarn and Lower Navarre in the Pyrenees. He was won to the Reformation by his wife, Jeanne d'Albret. He was an amiable but weak character. His younger brother, Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon, remained true to Rome. The ablest member of the family was the youngest, Louis of Condé. His morals were far from exemplary; but his adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation was loyal and unswerving. Another influential house which favored the Reformation was that of the Châtillon family. Two of these brothers, Francis of Andelot and Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, had become converts to Protestantism by reading and meditation during their captivity in Spain. Even the third brother, Cardinal Odet of Châtillon—who had never taken higher orders—favored the new doctrine.

The first great national convention, held by the reformers in May, 1559, was an event of extreme importance for the future of France. There was adopted the declaration of faith, which remained binding for French Protestants; there was compacted that admirable organization, which, resting upon broad popular foundations, drew them together into a firm religious, political and military unity, and enabled the small Calvinistic minority to endure victoriously all the storms of a half century of commotion and bloodshed.

Henry was full of wrath at the growth of heresy in his kingdom, and had Protestants of note secretly strangled in their dungeons that the spectacle of their death might not affect the spectators, and tried again to turn the Parlement, which seemed to him already to falter in its convictions, into an instrument of religious persecution. To promote this end he arrested in person the venerable councillor Du Bourg, and had him subjected to a painful trial. But before this came to an end, the king was so grievously wounded in the eye at a tournament, which he gave to

celebrate the betrothal of his daughter Elizabeth with King Philip II. of Spain, that he died eleven days later, July 10, 1559. In spite of his incapacity, France, under his reign of a dozen years, played a brilliant part in Europe and made great progress in wealth and industry.

The Protestants had loudly rejoiced over the death of their persecutor, and looked upon it as a righteous judgment of heaven; but really they had little reason for rejoicing. Their condition was hardly bettered by the change of kings. Henry's oldest son, Francis II. (Fig. 118),



**LE TRES CHRESTIEN FRANCOIS II DE
CE NOM ROY DE FRANCE ET DE COSSE.**

Moncornet excudit

FIG. 118.—Francis II., King of France. Reduced facsimile of a contemporary engraving issued by Moncornet.

was a youth of fifteen, as backward in intellectual as in bodily development. He fell at once under the influence of his beautiful and capable wife, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. A zealous Catholic, and on her mother's side related to the Guise family, she procured for her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, exclusive control over the young king, and he used it in the interests of his family and of the strictest Catholic orthodoxy. Numerous heretics were burned at the stake.

But the persecuted Protestants were beginning to realize their power, and here and there would resist by force. The orthodox nobles also murmured at the tyrannical and covetous rule of the Lorrainers, and gradually there was formed among the disaffected a regular league, that had for its object: first, the seizure of the Guises; then, the securing of a decree of banishment against them by the States-General; and, finally, the setting up of a new body of regents. Against the person of the king himself there was no plot at all, though the Guises loudly asserted the contrary. But it cannot be denied that negotiations were opened with the Protestant princes of Germany, and that to secure their assistance the restoration of Metz was promised them. About five hundred noblemen shared in the conspiracy; the secret chief of it was most probably Louis of Condé; the apparent head was La Renaudie, a bold adventurer. The Guises discovered the plot, carried the court to the strong castle of Amboise, and surprised the conspirators, who were nearly all seized and executed. Such was the famous "Conspiracy of Amboise" (March, 1560).

The Guises were once more victorious; still they had had a narrow escape, and they deemed it best to pursue a milder policy. An upright, moderate, patriotic man was appointed as chancellor, Michel de L'Hôpital. He wished to establish perfect peace between the old and new believers, and, by domestic tranquillity, to restore to France her former power and influence in Europe. The Edict of Romorantin (May, 1560) and various other royal ordinances granted the Protestants real toleration. A majority of the higher classes in the nation sided with L'Hôpital in this liberal policy. A gathering of notables held in Fontainebleau, August, 1560, resolved to summon at Orleans, on December 10 following, both the States-General and a national council for the reformation of the church. Meanwhile, all penalties against the adherents of the new faith were to be suspended. In other countries similar resolutions had ushered in the complete victory of Protestantism.

The Calvinists, or Huguenots, as they were often called, were the ones who made a similar result impossible in France by their violent and unlawful conduct. Wherever they were in the majority they ill-treated the Catholics, and deprived them of their churches. The hot-headed Protestant nobles of Southern France enticed Condé, and even the prudent Antoine of Navarre, into a new conspiracy, which aimed at an armed revolt against the Guises and the transfer of the power to the Bourbon party. This plot also was discovered, and the Catholic zealots had here again a pretext to urge the king to vigorous measures against the heretical rebels and their leader. Self-preservation seemed to demand this.

Antoine of Navarre and Condé, induced by false promises to join the court, then at Orleans, were arrested, and Condé, as the more dangerous of the two, was arraigned on the charge of high treason. As nothing of the sort could be proved against him, he was sentenced to death as a heretic. All over France the government enlisted troops and prepared for a final and decisive effort to crush Protestantism. The Huguenots on their part, not in the least disposed to fall as defenceless victims, flew to arms and awaited the attack. A terrible struggle seemed unavoidable when, on December 5, a few days only before the convening of the States-General, Francis II. died of an abscess in the head, before completing his seventeenth year. His death was a severe blow for the Catholic extremists; for the Protestants it had all the significance of a great victory. "When all was lost," exclaimed Beza in Geneva, "behold the Lord our God watched over us!"

The widow of Henry II., Catharine de' Medici, heretofore kept in the background by the Guises, now assumed the reins of government in behalf of her second son, Charles IX., still in his minority. She looked upon the Guises as her personal enemies, and formed a close alliance with the Bourbons.

She was at this time forty-one years old, by no means beautiful, with a dark complexion, great round eyes, and protruding lips, but generous, dignified, and imposing and masculine in her manner. She loved magnificence, and it was by her command that Lescot and Delorme erected so many noble edifices in the most perfect Renaissance style (cf. Fig. 119). Catharine was also a thoroughly educated woman; she collected a considerable library; she was a zealous protector of the arts and of letters, and loved to surround herself with scholars, poets, and artists. Her faults were not cruelty and hardness, but irresoluteness and a lack of firm convictions and of steadfastness. She made promises to every one on all sides, which she was incapable of fulfilling. The extreme difficulty of her position should not be forgotten, standing as she did between two irreconcilable parties, herself, as a stranger, distrusted if not disliked by all true Frenchmen. She at once set Condé at liberty, and surrounded herself with Huguenots. The States-General recommended the election of pastors by the parishes, the secularization of two-thirds of the possessions of the church for benevolent and educational objects, and a portion of the Estates added a request for preaching "according to the pure Word of God," which meant the introduction of the Reformation. These requests were not granted, but real toleration was conceded to the Protestants. Cardinal Odet of Châtillon, renouncing his high ecclesiastical dignities and rich bishoprics, went openly over to the new faith, an act



Fig. 119. The Castle of Chambord. Begun by Francis I. in 1532, and completed by Louis XIV. (From the engraving by Pury.)

of noble and self-sacrificing conscientiousness. The Huguenots felt sure of victory ; they held their services quite openly ; within a year they consecrated over two thousand churches.

Catholic zealots could not brook such a state of things. They turned for help to Philip II., whose cruel suppression of Spanish Protestantism seemed to them an example worthy of imitation. Both religion and policy urged on the Spanish king to compliance with the requests of the French Catholics. He declared (1561) by the mouth of his ambassador in Paris that he placed all his forces at the disposal of the queen-regent "if she would suppress the rebels ; if she refused to act, he made the same offer to all good Catholics." Encouraged by this pledge, the Constable Montmorency, Marshal St. André, and Francis of Guise forgot their personal animosities, withdrew from the court, and formed a close alliance for the protection of true religion, the so-called "Triumvirate," which soon assumed toward the regent an attitude of open hostility, and secured from the first the vigorous support of the Catholic clergy. The mutual hate of the religious parties grew more and more ardent, and war seemed unavoidable. In several places the populace, urged on by the clergy, indulged in deeds of violence against the heretics.

Catharine and her brave chancellor, L'Hôpital, were unwearied in their endeavors to bring about a reconciliation. In their perplexity they resorted to a means that never yet has succeeded in producing harmony—a religious discussion or colloquy. A number of prominent Protestant divines were invited to meet the Catholic prelates in session at Poissy, (September, 1561). On one side the chief disputant was the Genevese Beza, Calvin's bosom friend ; on the other, the Cardinal of Lorraine. It is needless to say that no agreement was reached ; but on the whole, the Protestants had the better of it. A number of men who had till now been undecided went over to their side, and by far the larger part of the nobility accepted Calvin's doctrines. At length, January 17, 1562, the so-called "January Edict" was proclaimed. For the first time by express legislation, freedom of worship was allowed Protestants, though only outside of city walls. Notwithstanding numerous restrictions, the new doctrines were now at length legalized and recognized by the highest authority in France.

All zealous Catholics opposed the January Edict, first the University of Paris, then also the Parlement. King Antoine of Navarre, to whom the Spaniards cunningly promised either the restoration of his estates or a compensation, withdrew from the ranks of the reformers and sided with the Parlement. Before this body could be induced to register the edict, a deed of blood had already struck the signal for the outbreak

of a religious civil war, the atrocities of which were to last for more than thirty years.

Duke Francis of Guise had long been preparing it, and now deemed

Die gemüthliche wirgeren bogengeten Vassys den refectory des Gersins. 1562.

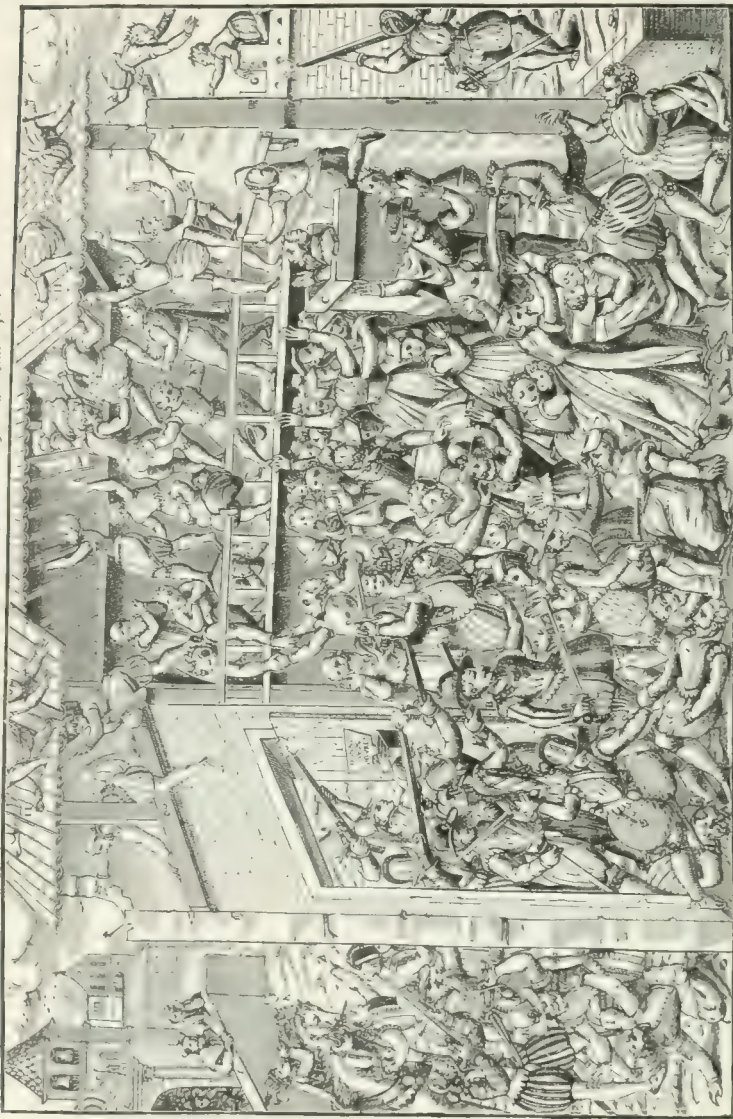


FIG. 120. The massacre at Vassy. From a contemporary engraving in Tortorelli and Perrissin's *Mancher layen gedene-wirdiger historien*, etc., 1576. Explanation (translated): A, a hall where 1200 persons were assembled; B, the Duke of Guise; C, the preacher in his pulpit praying to God; D, the preacher seeking to escape; E, Cardinal de Guise leaping against the churchyard wall; F, the roof is reached by some who seek to escape; G, some leap from the roof to the ground; H, a part are shot down on the roof; I, the poor-box is robbed; K, trumpeters blow twice in a different manner.

it propitious to strike a decisive blow before the queen-regent and her son should openly declare in favor of the Huguenots. Passing through Vassy, a small town in Champagne, at the head of a band of three hun-

dred armed retainers, and finding its Protestant inhabitants gathered for worship, he let loose his men upon the unarmed throng and killed or wounded hundreds of them (Fig. 120). Not one of his followers was even wounded (March 1, 1562).

This shameful "Massacre of Vassy" excited horror and thirst for vengeance among the Huguenots, and filled their enemies with the wildest joy and an eager desire to emulate so noble an example. Paris rose in favor of the Triumvirate and organized its militia. Catharine and Charles IX. were seized and held captive. On the other hand Condé took up arms to liberate them and to defend the reformed faith; the nobility, not Protestants alone, but loyalists of the old faith, who were outraged at this violence done to the sovereigns, flocked to his banner. In most of the provinces Calvinists and Catholics fought with that cruelty and hatred peculiar to religious wars. Whilst the great cities of Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux followed the lead of the capital, cities of lesser rank, in which the nobility exercised marked influence, sided with Condé, who set up a formal government in opposition to the Guises. In September, 1562, Queen Elizabeth of England promised by the convention of Hampton Court to aid the Protestants with money subsidies, in return for which she was to obtain the important port of Havre, which she meant to make a new Calais.

Meanwhile, Guise, reinforced by Spanish, Swiss and German Catholic troops, assumed the offensive and took Rouen after a short siege, in which poor Antoine of Navarre was mortally wounded. Condé hastened on to rescue the rest of Normandy from the Catholics, and on December 19, 1562, the two armies, two-thirds at least of which were foreigners, came to blows at Dreux (Fig. 121). The battle was fierce; in the early part of it Montmorency was taken prisoner and Marshal St. André fell; later, however, the unconquerable bravery and discipline of the Swiss decided the struggle in favor of the Catholics. Condé was wounded and left a prisoner in their hands.

Admiral de Coligny then assumed the command of the Huguenots. He was a man of singular purity of character, of immovable firmness and trust in God, and an excellent organizer. He never despaired; after every defeat he rose again as formidable as ever. His task was made easier by the death of his great opponent, Francis of Guise, murdered at the siege of Orleans by the Huguenot fanatic, Poltrot (February, 1563). The Catholics alleged that Coligny had instigated the murder.

Thus the original chiefs of the civil war were all either dead or captive. The queen-mother, rid now of the Triumvirate and again her own mistress, resolved to use her recovered freedom to secure peace for

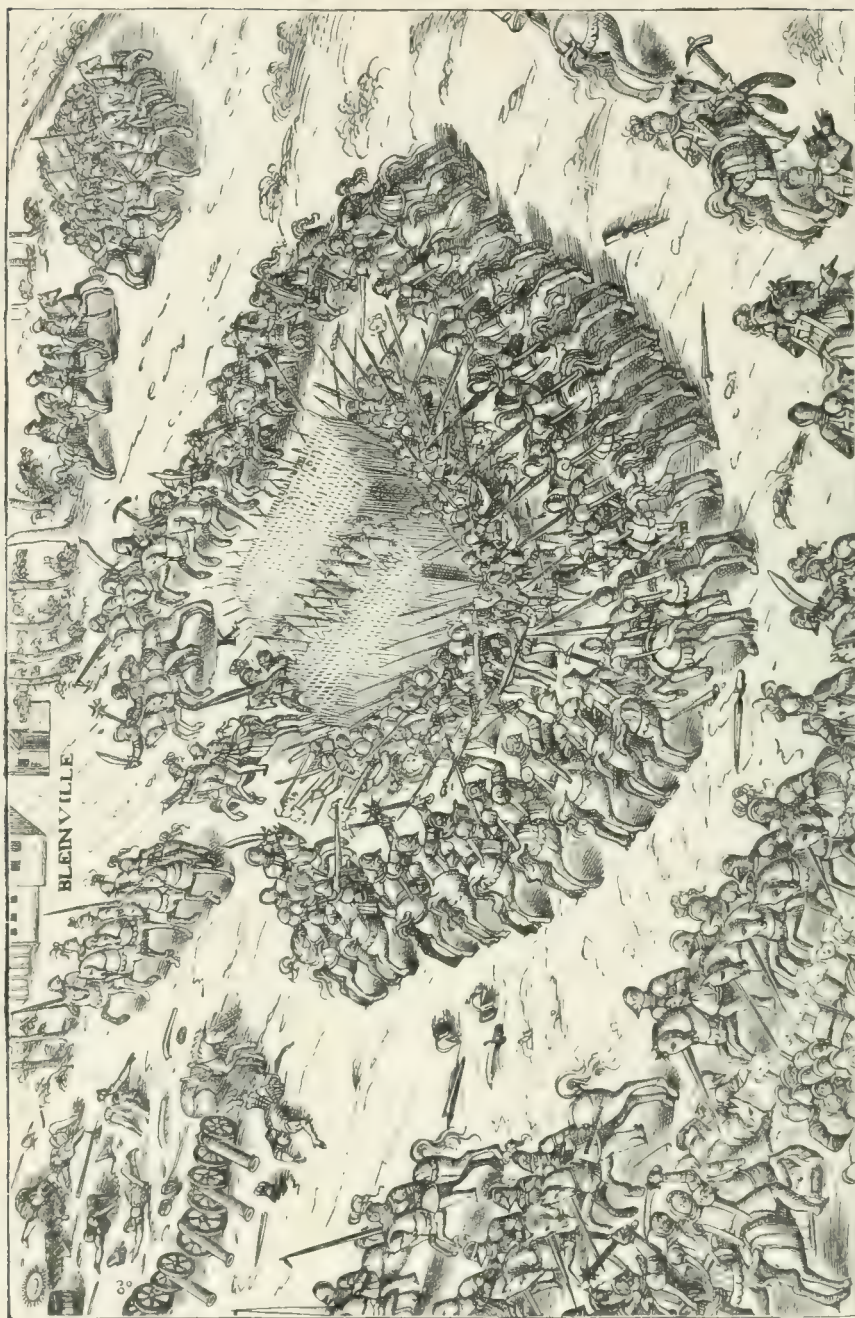


FIG. 121 The fourth encounter in the Battle of Breux, in which Marshal St. Andre fell. From the contemporary engraving in Tortorelli and Perrissin's *Mancher hayen gedenwürdiger historien*, etc., 1570.

France. She did not wish the Guises to become too powerful. "Condé," said the young king, "is one of my arms; but my body needs two." So an agreement was reached and published at Amboise, March 15, 1563, in the form of an edict, considerably less favorable to the Protestants than the January Edict. Calvin openly reproached Condé with having sacrificed the interests of his brethren to promote his own advantage. The Catholic zealots were no better pleased with it. The Edict of Amboise was simply a truce after an indecisive engagement.

The queen, though an Italian by birth, was more patriotic than the great majority of the French. Her first care, after the restoration of internal peace, was the liberation of French soil from foreign aggressors. Within a few days the English were forced to abandon the noble seaport of Havre, and a few months later, in April, 1564, Elizabeth had to accept the Peace of Troyes, in which she renounced all claims to Calais in consideration of the sum of 120,000 crowns. Thus, while the French Catholics were selling parts of France to the Spaniards, and the Huguenots other parts to the English and the Germans, a Florentine woman rescued them.

Catharine's (Fig. 122) rule was equally beneficial in internal affairs. After a long resistance the Parisians were forced to disarm and were kept in order by a strong garrison. She did not permit the Duchess of Guise to begin a suit against Coligny for being accessory to the murder of her husband. When the Cardinal of Lorraine returned from Trent, where he had just betrayed France into the hands of its ultramontane enemies, he was so coolly received that he thought it best to withdraw to his diocese.



FIG. 122.—Medal of Catharine de' Medici. Original size. (Berlin.)

Unfortunately the good understanding between the court on the one hand, and the moderate Catholics and Huguenots on the other, was not to last.

Catharine de' Medici had requested an interview with her daughter Elizabeth and Philip her son-in-law, with a view to bring about a union between her favorite son, Henry of Orleans (later of Anjou), and the Spanish Infanta Joanna. Philip himself did not come, but sent his wife, Elizabeth, and the Duke of Alva to meet Catharine at Bayonne (June, 1565), and urge upon her the duty of repressing heresy in France. The French queen did not at all favor their request, and some stormy scenes

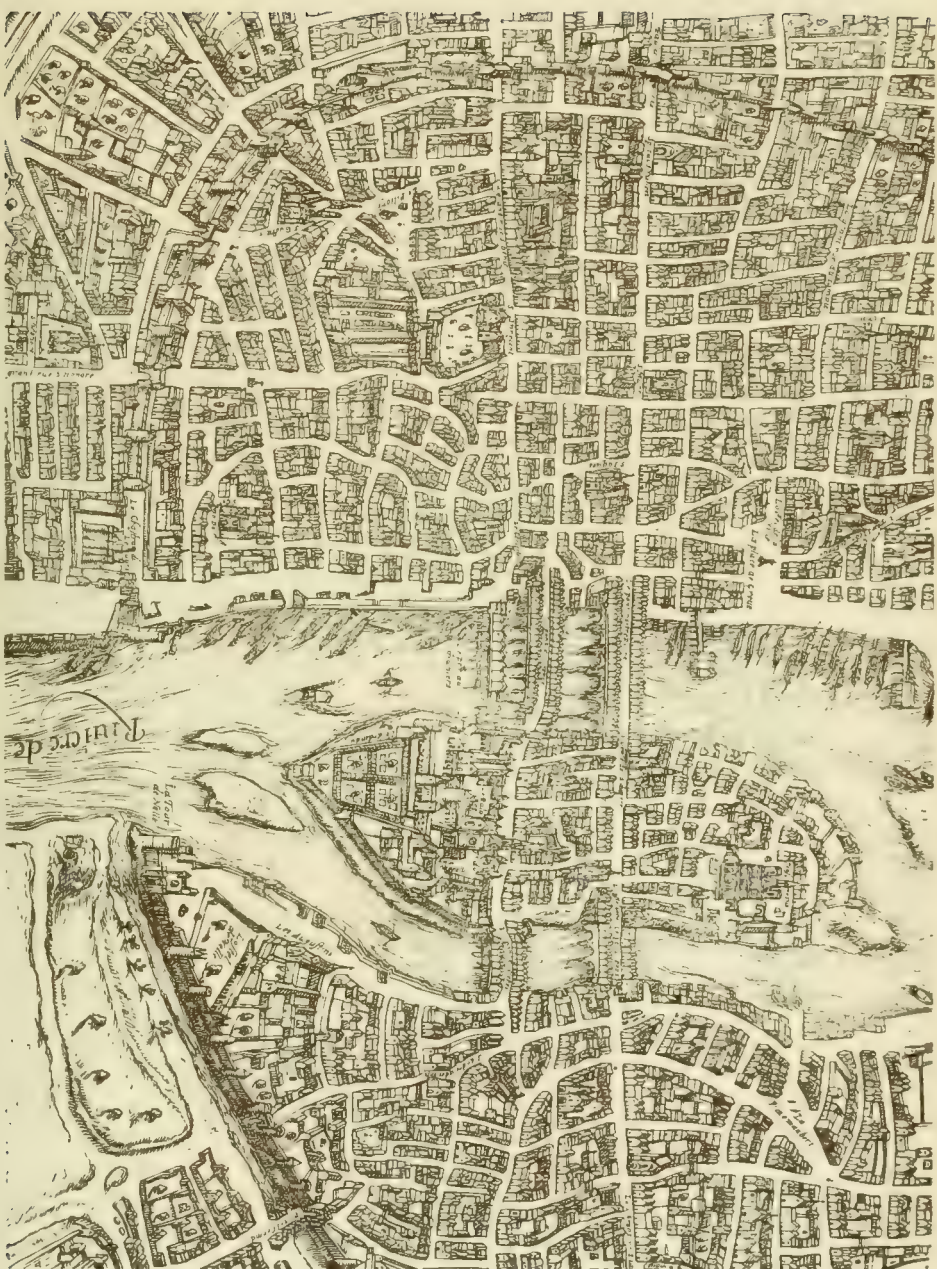
occurred between the mother and the daughter. Finally, seeing that without some concession on her part, she could not bring about the marriage she had so much at heart, and having reason to suspect, besides, that the leaders of the Catholic party in France were preparing to enter into a formal alliance with Alva, she promised Queen Elizabeth on her return to Paris "to remedy the present religious troubles" (*poner remedio á estas cosas de religion*). The pledge, one readily sees, was quite vague; moreover, it was to be kept a profound secret. The Spanish envoy expressed his fears that it would lead to nothing; and, in fact, for several years the queen did absolutely nothing to carry it out, and after her return treated the Huguenots quite as kindly as before. Philip's plan had completely miscarried.

But the Bayonne conferences had an unfortunate result, nevertheless. They filled the Protestants with anxiety, and laid the germs of that mistrust that was ultimately to lead to a second religious war. In many parts of France fierce quarrels and bloodshed kept up the animosity between Calvinists and Catholics and embittered it. It is worthy of notice that all classes of the Reformed were filled with a spirit at once earnest, stern, and democratic. Not only luxury of all kinds, as well as cards and dice-playing was denounced, but comparatively harmless enjoyments also—dancing, masks, comedies, and theatres generally—as being "corrupting practices."

Religion assumed a control over all things. It exercised a censorship over literary productions, watched over the conduct of princes, and held the common people to a respectful behavior toward the clergy. This strictness, which in some instances may have been carried to excess, had for one of its results the drawing of all classes of Protestants closer together, and created a spirit of obedience and readiness to fight for the cause of the Lord.

The Protestants gave earnest attention to the education of the young. Parents and guardians, masters and mistresses, were enjoined to attend to the training of children and domestics. Within a short time there were founded five academies or universities, the most important of which were those of Montauban and of Saumur, great sacrifices being made to equip them. This regard for learning bore fruits. The fine culture of the higher classes, the solid education of the common people among the Huguenots, won for them a prominent place and extraordinary influence in politics and in war.

The peace of France was again disturbed by the interference of Alva. At the head of a Spanish army, he was marching from Italy to the Netherlands to put down all religious disorders there. His proximity



Paris in the sixteenth century.

Reduced facsimile of a part of the bird's-eye view in Braun's "Städtebuch," 1572.

to the French frontier was so threatening that Catharine thought it necessary once more to resort to hypocritical promises to avert the danger. She assured the duke (1567) that she would "soon put Condé and the admiral out of the way." She meant no more by this than by her promises at Bayonne; but the Protestants heard of it and feared for themselves the fate that was overtaking their brethren in the Netherlands. They resolved to anticipate the danger by seizing the person of the king, who was then staying in his secluded country-seat of Monceau. Their plan miscarried; the brave Swiss who formed the king's guard carried him unharmed to Paris (PLATE XV.) through the dense squadrons of the Huguenots (September 28, 1567). The civil war was begun again, and this time the Calvinists were the aggressors. Catharine and Charles IX. never forgave them that September day. For a while, however, the Huguenots were the stronger. While the court did not know where to find troops, having no money to pay them, the Palatine, John Casimir, joined the army of Condé with 11,000 German Protestants. Under these circumstances it was natural that offers of peace came from the court, where, indeed, L'Hôpital had never ceased to recommend conciliation. On March 23, 1568, the Peace of Longjumeau was ratified. It granted a general amnesty and renewed the Edict of Amboise.

The Huguenots had secured their immediate object, and for a while baffled their enemies; nevertheless, the Peace of Longjumeau was a great mistake on their part. They could not but be aware that their attempt at Monceau had made the queen and the young king irreconcilably hostile; they had also incensed the mass of the nation by their rebellion and their violence; from that time begins the ebb of the Protestant movement in France. The majority of the French were resolved not to renounce the old faith, and grew more and more convinced that as long as there were two religions in the land, so long would there be strife and confusion.

The evil consequences of the peace were soon apparent to all. Urged on by the pope and the Spaniards, the court showed itself intensely hostile to the Calvinists, and, carrying out in this the eager desire of the people at large, nullified, wherever they could, the conditions of the Peace of Longjumeau. More than 10,000 Huguenots, it is alleged, were put to death within three months after its confirmation, a greater number than had fallen during the preceding war. L'Hôpital, long denounced by Catholic zealots as a disguised heretic, lost his position as chancellor. The Catholic reaction was victorious all over Europe, in the Netherlands, in Germany. Catharine thought the time had come to put an end to religious discords in France. She ordered the arrest

of Condé and Coligny. Warned in time, they sought refuge in La Rochelle, the stronghold of Calvinism in France. The Protestant nobles and the Protestant burghers flew to arms, and the third religious war began (August, 1568).

This time the royalists were well prepared. Nominally under the command of Henry of Anjou, they were really led by Marshal de Tavannes, one of the most fanatical of Catholics. On March 13, 1569, he attacked the Huguenots at Jarnac, and put them to flight. Louis of Condé was among the slain, a terrible loss for the Protestants. It was fortunate for them that Anjou failed to profit by his victory, while in their camp appeared Jeanne d'Albret, the Queen of Navarre, to cheer the Protestants, and to give their party a new chief in the person of her son, Henry, then just sixteen years of age.

This youth, destined to become the famous Henry IV., was born in the castle of Pau, December 13, 1553. Brought up in a simple and hardy manner, he was far better versed in knightly practices than in learning. His religious convictions were not very firm, and he often treated the most serious things with frivolous irony. His mother's desire, and his antagonism to the rulers of France, placed him at the head of the Huguenot party. For a while, however, its real chief was Coligny, who strengthened his army by hiring German mercenaries, whilst the Royalists were drawing to their standards Swiss and other auxiliaries. Thus once more it was a majority of foreigners who fought the second great battle of the war at Moncontour, October 3, 1569; it was once more the Swiss who secured the victory to the Catholics. This second triumph was as indecisive as the first. Coligny soon reorganized his army; the valiant La Noue destroyed a large corps of royalists at Luçon; John Casimir of the Palatinate again invaded France; the court was again without money or troops. The conduct of Philip was such as to justify the suspicion that he was fomenting civil wars in France to strengthen Spain and make her ultimately all-powerful in Europe.

Under such unfavorable conditions the court could no longer carry on the conflict, and on August 8, 1570, it consented to the Peace of St. Germain-en-Laye, humiliating as it must have considered it. This peace granted the Huguenots full civil equality, allowed them to appeal from judges hostile to them, and assigned to them as security for the fulfillment of the articles of peace the four fortresses of La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité-sur-Loire.

Never before had the Huguenots obtained such terms. Not only were they recognized as entitled to all the rights of citizenship, but also

as a legitimate power within the state. The government itself furnished them with means of resistance. These concessions they owed mainly to their own courage and resolution, but also to foreign assistance; the Germans had aided them with soldiers, the English with money. The onset of the Counter-reformation was broken by them first; their brethren of the Netherlands took courage, and made ready to rise once more to secure their liberties.

The wrath with which the Spanish king and the irascible Pope Pius V. heard of the Peace of St. Germain is the best proof of their opinion of its unsuitableness. France, in some measure, had gone back to her ancient and normal policy. Though betrothed to Elizabeth of Austria, daughter of Maximilian II., Charles IX. angrily resented any interference of the Hapsburgs in French politics, and entered into close relations with all the enemies of his Catholic majesty, with the German Protestants, with England, and with the rebellious Netherlanders. In his home policy he seemed to pay special regard to the Huguenots. The Guises, champions of a vigorous Catholic policy at home and abroad, fell into disgrace. Things went so far that people began to suspect the queen-mother and Charles himself of wavering in their religious opinions. Negotiations were going on to bring about the marriage of the Protestant queen of England, Elizabeth, first with Henry of Anjou, then failing this, with his younger brother, Francis of Alençon. Louis, Count of Nassau, the heroic brother of the Prince of Orange, was received with the greatest honors at the French court, and by timely assistance enabled to make himself master of the important city and fortress of Mons in the Netherlands. Formal threats of war were exchanged between France and Spain. Under such circumstances Charles IX. felt the need of a trustworthy and respected commander and statesman as an immediate counsellor, and his eye fell on Gaspard de Coligny (Fig. 123). Many of Coligny's friends earnestly dissuaded him from answering the call of the king on the ground that no reliance could be put on the weak, vacillating Charles or on his Italian mother. But the government showed itself so fair and so favorable to the Huguenots that the admiral accepted the king's offer, and on September 12, 1571, arrived at the royal court in Blois, and was received by the king and his mother with the greatest honors. He became the most trusted and influential of Charles's advisers.

The king meanwhile seemed firmly fixed in his purpose to abide by the Peace of St. Germain. He punished with extreme severity the instigators and abettors of all attacks against the Protestants; he sent strict orders to all governors of provinces to protect the Huguenots according

to the edict. A party was formed under the leadership of the Duke of Montmorency, the hereditary antagonist of the Guises, consisting of moderate Catholics, whom the zealots nicknamed "Politiques," and



FIG. 123.—Admiral Coligny. Painting of the French school in the sixteenth century. In possession of the Société de l'histoire du protestantisme.

who entered into the closest relations with the Protestants. At court, Coligny's influence was paramount; he wished to secure peace within.

and, without, a national, that is, an anti-Spanish, and, to some extent, an anti-Catholic policy. He sought to lead the king into open military interference in the Netherlands, and thereby into a war with Spain. Charles, then twenty-two years of age, was not averse to these plans. His head was full of grand schemes; the recovery of Milan, the reconquest of southern Navarre, to be restored to young Henry, its titular king, to whom, in spite of the pope's violent protestations, he meant to give his own sister, Margaret, in marriage. All these schemes were bitterly opposed by the zealots, at the head of whom were Henry of Anjou, and the bloodthirsty Tavannes. But their efforts were just as unavailing as those of the Spanish and papal envoys. A small French army of combined Catholics and Protestants under de Genlis started (end of 1572) to the assistance of Louis of Nassau, who was then endeavoring to relieve beleaguered Mons.

Coligny's anti-Spanish policy received some severe checks. De Genlis and his forces were surprised and completely routed by the Spaniards. The German Lutherans recoiled before an alliance with the Calvinists of France and the Netherlands. Elizabeth was jealous of any French influence in Belgium, and would rather treat with the Spaniards. Even the Turks, discouraged by the disaster of Lepanto, would hear nothing of a league against the king of Spain. These disappointments could not but shake the confidence of Charles in Coligny. The worst stroke was, however, to come from another direction.

Catharine de' Medici had become firmly convinced that an overwhelming majority of the French people not only remained true to the old faith, but also eagerly desired the ruin of Protestantism. As long as the Reformation merely meant an amelioration of the church, it had found well-wishers everywhere; but now that it had become embodied in a definite, sharply-drawn, separate religious and political party, the opposition to it became constantly more general and more violent. Now Catharine, an accomplished politician, was always inclined to listen to the popular voice. The friendly leaning of the king toward the Calvinists displeased her more and more, and the addition of a war with Spain, with no reliable ally, to the internal troubles of the realm, seemed to her extremely perilous. For once her policy and that of her son clashed. She seems to have kept the Spaniards acquainted with the plans forming against them, for she was jealous of the influence of Coligny over her son, an influence that threatened to displace her own.

Coligny made no secret of his opposition to the queen-mother, and his Huguenot followers had an intense hatred for the Florentine woman, and when Jeanne d'Albret, whom the court had with great difficulty

induced to come to Paris, suddenly (June, 1572) died of inflammation of the lungs, they did not hesitate to accuse Catharine of having poisoned her. The admiral advised the king to withdraw from his mother an authority that was no longer seemly, and to send his turbulent brother Anjou out of the realm; it was a question of war within or war without, and there was no doubt that the latter was preferable, as there might be glory and gain won in it.

This antagonism between Coligny and Catharine could end only in the destruction of one or the other of the parties. And with a prince as weak and vacillating as Charles, the issue could not be doubtful. He could not long hesitate to make his choice between a heretic, but a short time before his enemy, however able and wise, and his own mother, under whose influence he had been since his childhood, and who represented the interests of the religion he believed in. The more prudent Huguenots, foreseeing what would surely come, left the court.

The first token of a change of views in the king was his allowing himself to be dissuaded from declaring war against Spain at once (August 9, 1572). In the anguish of his disappointment, the admiral exclaimed: "May God grant that another war does not break out which the king cannot avoid!" Those who overheard him saw in his exclamation the threat of a new religious war; they remembered the Monceau affair. The fact that the wedding of Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois had drawn thousands of Protestant nobles to Paris made Coligny still more formidable. Besides, Catharine hated him, and thought that if he were but out of the way she would make short work of all Huguenot opposition. The words of Alva came back to her: "The head of one salmon"—the salmon figured in the arms of the Colignys—"is worth more than ten thousand frogs' heads."

In concert with her son, Henry of Anjou, and with the Guises, she hired a noted ruffian, Maurevel, to shoot the admiral from a sure place of hiding. Maurevel only wounded Coligny in the left shoulder and the right hand (August 22, 1572), and escaped.

Had the Huguenot chief been slain, it is probable that Catharine would have done her best to pacify his followers by concessions and promises. Now, however, she feared his vengeance, for the instigators of the crime were at once suspected, and the Calvinist noblemen in Paris were outspoken in their threats against the queen-mother and even against the king. Then Catharine reverted to the reiterated advice of the Spanish diplomats, and in her deep anxiety resolved upon the total destruction of the Huguenots, beginning with the nobles gathered in the capital. She felt sure of finding zealous and determined helpers in the Catholic populace.



FIG. 124.—Charles IX, King of France. Painting by François Clouet, called Janet (sixteenth century). Owned by the Duc d'Aumale.

Charles IX. (Fig. 124) appeared hotly indignant at the attempt made on Coligny's life, and determined to punish its perpetrator, when Catharine and Anjou came forward, acknowledging their connection with it.

They justified the act on the ground that the admiral was a dangerous man, that he and the Huguenots generally had been loud in their threats, that, in short, nothing but the extermination of the heretics could avert a destructive civil war. The king at first maintained his ground, but his Catholic surroundings, his fears, and his love and fear of his mother, all combined to win him to her cruel, bloody plan.

The "prevot des marchands" (the mayor) of Paris was commanded to organize bands of assassins from the city militia; with them were joined the Catholic nobility, the royal troops, and all citizens who were so minded. In the night of August 23-24, 1572, St. Bartholomew's Eve



FIG. 125. Medal of Charles IX. in honor of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Original size. (Berlin.)

(Fig. 125, and PLATE XVI.), Coligny and all Huguenots, whether foreigners or French, that could be reached, were murdered, to the number of at least two thousand. The butchery lasted two days longer, then for two weeks more were single assassinations; neither women nor

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XVI

The Night of St. Bartholomew; August 23-24, 1572.

Painting by François Dubois d'Amiens (died at Geneva, 1584). Original, painting on wood, 5 ft. 1 in. by 3 ft. 5 in., is in Lausanne, Museum Arland. (From the lithograph by Alexander Duruy in Bordier's *Peinture de la Saint-Barthélemy*.) Near the centre is Coligny's house, from the window of which the body of the admiral is cast; below the corpse is figured as it is mutilated by the Dukes of Guise and Aumale and Sieur de Angoulême; farther to the right it is seen again, without head and right hand, dragged toward the gallows of Montfaucon, on the hill on the upper corner of the picture. Upon the roof, the house adjoining Coligny's, hides Teligny, Coligny's son-in-law, who was afterward murdered. To the left of the centre, on the bank of the Seine, is the Louvre. A Huguenot—de Piles—is thrust through with a spear at the very door. In front of the Louvre is a heap of naked corpses which the ladies of the court are viewing, in part from the window, in part from nearer at hand. On Mont Ste. Geneviève, with its windmill, Huguenots seek to escape on foot and on horseback, but are pursued by a band of armed men through the Porte de Nesles. On the gallows, at the right of Coligny's house, hang the bodies of de Briquemaut and Cavagnes, who were, however, executed on October 29, nine weeks after the night of St. Bartholomew.



L. 1588. 155.

The Night of St. Bartholomew

Painting by François Dubois d'Amiens - Original



new; August 23-24, 1572.
 painting on wood in Lausanne, Museum Arland.

children were spared. Rapacity joined hands with fanaticism, for the assassins were allowed unrestricted plunder. Henry of Navarre and Henry of Condé escaped only by going through the form of abjuring their belief in Calvinism. They were kept prisoners by the court.

These horrors were by no means confined to Paris—they were repeated all over France. With detestable hypocrisy, the king officially enjoined the observance of the edict of peace, while by repeated secret instructions he urged upon the governors of provinces the extermination of heretics. No less than thirty thousand Huguenots were slain outside of the capital. Only a few governors, in the south and in Normandy, ventured, for the sake of humanity and justice, to disobey the king's commands.

Protestant worship was forbidden all over the kingdom. There was great rejoicing in Rome and in Madrid. In the former city festivities were held and medals struck in celebration of the bloody extinction of heresy in France (Fig. 126). But the assassins of St. Bartholomew's Eve and their



FIG. 126.—Medal of Gregory XIII. in honor of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Original size. (Berlin.)

friends were soon undeceived. After a brief time of helpless horror, the French Calvinists arose, and, in spite of tremendous odds against them, began their famous heroic struggle. The cities were the first to rise, La Rochelle leading the way, and the nobility—what was left of it—began to organize for resistance. Brave La Noue placed himself at the head of these valiant men who preferred death to a cowardly and disgraceful surrender of their principles. The very thing that Catharine and Charles IX. had tried to prevent by their awful crime was really hastened by it: a fourth religious war broke out.

Henry of Anjou tried in vain to capture La Rochelle. In May, 1573, the Poles elected him as their king, and he lost most of his interest in French affairs. The Peace of Boulogne suspended hostilities for a while. The compromise party, or Politiques, driven into the background by the events of 1572, now came forward again, having as their chief the young-

est brother of the king, Francis of Alençon. A vain and feeble man, without religious or political convictions, he hated his older brother, Anjou, and hoped to become the husband of Elizabeth of England.

The internal condition of France was lamentable enough. Everywhere were seen ruin and desolation; cities and villages divided into religious factions mortally hating each other; roads and forests swarmed with robbers. The rule of the queen-mother and her Italians was universally detested, with its wastefulness, its favoritism and its oppressive taxes. Charles felt this deeply, and knew that the responsibility of it rested mainly upon him. The crime of August 24, a crime that subsequent events had proved to be not only vain but positively injurious to his cause, began to torture him with remorse. He could find no rest anywhere; in the stillness of the night he fancied he heard the shouts of the murderers and the groans of the victims. In vain did he seek by violent bodily exercise, the chase, boxing, ball-playing, and blacksmithing, to still his conscience and court sleep.

His nearest relatives turned against him. Alençon and Navarre planned to leave the court secretly and go and give the signal of rising, the former to the "Politiques," the latter to the Huguenots. The plot was betrayed, the princes arrested, some of their friends executed. Nevertheless, the south and the west of France were again all up in arms.

This aggravated the condition of the king, and on May 30, 1574, he died of consumption, when not quite twenty-five years of age. He left no legitimate sons; his only daughter died some time after in her seventh year. He was, perhaps, the most unfortunate of French monarchs, vain and misguided rather than wicked.

As soon as Henry of Anjou—now Henry III. (Fig. 127)—heard of his brother's death, he hastily left his Polish realm, where he had found but little joy, to assume the crown of France. He was not quite twenty-two years old. His youthful military successes had given the world a high opinion of him; he was spoken of as a new Alexander. He failed to justify these expectations. Like his brothers, he was prematurely spent. The sole energetic quality left him was love of power. He at once withdrew from his mother's hands the authority she had exercised for fourteen years. Naturally gifted, well educated, and a friend of learning, he was also thoroughly frivolous, careless, and physically and intellectually lazy. He loved to spend his time among women, and surrounded himself with insignificant favorites, the so-called *mignons*, to whom he entrusted the conduct of the state. The Huguenots he hated as old antagonists, whom, as a prince of the crown, he had

often fought; he also detested their earnestness, their conscientiousness, and their independent spirit.

Such a ruler soon gave general dissatisfaction, to Catholics as well as Protestants. To the opposition of the nobles and of the Huguenots, was now joined that of the republicans or democrats. In a pamphlet, *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, Hubert Languet proclaimed the struggle of reason



FIG. 127. Henry III., King of France. Painting by Clouet, called Janet (died 1570).

and righteousness against violence and falsehood—to the point of tyrannicide. Things had again come to such a pass in France that, through the mistakes of the rulers, the very principles of her existence were put in question. As under Louis XI., the discontented spoke of a war for the public good.

It added greatly to the growth and to the influence of the malcontents that Alençon succeeded at length in escaping from the court and proclaiming himself ready to restore peace to the nation. His manifesto found great acceptance in a country weary of discussions and bloodshed. An army of Germans under John Casimir, formerly Elector of the Palatinate, was on its way to join the Huguenots. In this sore plight the king found a rescuer in the young Duke of Guise, the oldest son of Francis, murdered at Orleans; this young nobleman, surnamed *le Balafre*, routed and almost annihilated a force of German Protestant cavalry (October, 1575), thus winning high renown and a strong claim to the leadership of the Catholics. Still his success could not bring money to the exhausted treasury of the king, nor prevent the advance of John Casimir into the very heart of France.

A new ally now came forward and joined the rebels—the king of Navarre. For some years he had lived, little observed, among the dissolute courtiers, whose lives were spent in luxury and vice; no one had attached much importance to the presence of this easy, cheerful, free-living youth. But under a frivolous exterior Henry concealed quick perception, sharp practical sense, and the deceptive slyness of a Gascon. The restraint he had to impose upon himself, surrounded as he was by bitter enemies, made him a master in the art of dissimulation as well as in that of accurate reading of human character. Under the pretext of a hunting expedition he suddenly (February, 1576) disappeared from the court. At Tours he declared himself once more a Protestant. Then, with his adherents, whose number was rapidly increasing, he joined the forces of Alençon and Condé. The three princes marched at once upon Paris, there, as they loudly asserted, to avenge the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

But they readily accepted the offers of peace made them at Beaulieu (May, 1576) by Henry III. The terms were highly favorable to the Protestants, who obtained almost entire liberty of worship, six new strongholds, and the promise of equal representation among the judges in trials where Calvinists were a party.

This treaty, concluded four years after the great massacre, was the most brilliant triumph of the Huguenots. They now considered themselves sure of the victory, and began to speak once more of the summoning of a national council for reforming the clergy. In reality, however, they had never been weaker. In addition to the bitter hatred of the rulers, they had now secured, by their very successes, the intense hostility of the common people. In the large cities the provisions of the peace could not be carried out without the interference of the govern-

ment, and the government dared not interfere. A still greater danger for the inner life and real strength of French Protestantism was this: its foremost adherents were ambitious and turbulent nobles, or insolent and independent city magistrates who cared not for the improvement of doctrine nor the preservation of church discipline, but aimed only at political advancement and military success. The Huguenots were changing from a religious community into a political party, and a party really hostile to the majority of the nation and to the unity of the state. Worldly aims, selfish quarrels, and personal considerations prevailed. This transformation of French Calvinism caused its unavoidable downfall.

The Catholics, on the other hand, had been taught a useful lesson by their opponents. They saw clearly now that in union there is strength. The governor of Picardy, Jacques d'Humieres, an obstinate Catholic zealot, refused to yield his province, as required by the Treaty of Beaulieu, to the heretic, Condé, and formed an association of good Catholics, known as the League (1576), to aid him in his resistance. The members bound themselves to protect the rights of the States-General and of the holy religion, chose governors to direct them, and pledged themselves to obey a supreme chief, whose authority should be absolute. Henry, Duke of Guise, was elected chief.

The States-General, convened at Blois, December, 1576, clearly revealed the change in the nation, of which the League was the fullest expression. The difference between this meeting and that held in Orleans sixteen years before was startling. Then the nobles and the third estate had unanimously asked for a reform in the church; now the combined representatives of the middle party, or Politiques, and of the Huguenots were still a small minority. One of the first declarations of the assembly was that there should be but one religion in the realm. By this resolution the Peace of Beaulieu was annulled and a new religious war—the sixth—was proclaimed. The hostilities were, however, carried on without energy by the Huguenots, and by the royalists with evident reluctance, for Henry III. wished to spare the Huguenots so as to use them as a counterweight to the League (Fig. 128), which was growing more and more overbearing. He granted the exhausted and discordant Calvinists the Articles of Poitiers and Bergerac (September, 1577), which diminished the number of their churches, but confirmed, in other respects, the agreement of Beaulieu. All moderate elements were satisfied with these articles; the Protestants, because they gave them sufficient guarantees of their safety, the Catholics, because they set limits to the growth of heresy.



FIG. 128. Members of the Holy League. Part of a contemporary anonymous engraving.
(From Lacroix.)

But the extreme Catholics denounced the favor shown to the Huguenots in the edicts of Poitiers and Bergerac as shameful treason. They boldly expressed their purpose to dethrone the Valois and enthrone the Guises. "The accession of the Capets, six hundred years before, was a usurpation; the throne of France belonged by right to the house of Lorraine, descended from Charlemagne." The League and the pope began to act in concert in this matter; the churches resounded with attacks upon the king. From Philip II. came encouragements and promises of help. The hatred of the nobles for the *mignons* and their contempt for the government vented itself in numerous duels and in secret murders, which the king found it impossible to punish. Everywhere there was sullen discontent and threatened mutterings of a storm that might well imperil the future of the kingdom.

War broke out again—an inglorious but devastating struggle—in which Henry of Navarre distinguished himself by the boldness and skill of his enterprises. A characteristic episode of the war was the visit of Catharine to Henry's camp, accompanied by Henry's wife "Margot," and a numerous train of not very scrupulous female diplomats, to induce him to make peace with the king. Negotiations and surprises, love-making and skirmishes now succeed each other till the Treaty of Nerac, February, 1579, puts an end to hostilities. What had become of the religious convictions and stern morality with which the first Protestants had gone to battle for their faith? In France, perhaps, earlier than in the other countries of Europe, the time came when religious motives were simply a pretext for personal ambitions. What a leader for Calvin's hosts was this Henry, who after every successful combat left his camp to fly into the arms of one or the other of his numerous mistresses, to claim of her the reward of his valor! Among the soldiers, religious indifference, robbery, and excesses of all kinds were so prevalent that the pastors declared they would rather see the fires of persecution revived than that so disgraceful a struggle should continue.

There is little doubt that the Protestants would have been completely subdued if the king had not stopped the progress of his armies, lest their success should unduly strengthen the cause of the League. External considerations, also, had much to do with this decision. For the power of Spain was constantly growing more formidable, and it was of vital importance to France to devise means to check that growth that imperiled the very safety of the nation. It was fortunate for Protestantism that the interests of the kingdom required that France should again break with Spain, the champion of Catholicism.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS.

THE seventeen provinces of the Netherlands had been secured by the house of Burgundy and their successors, the Hapsburgs, from various hands, by inheritance, purchase, or force. Under the Burgundian dukes the provinces had been a loose cluster of almost independent states, part of them subject to the German empire, the rest to the crown of France; but under Charles V. they had been separated from both these sovereign states, and by the Treaty of Augsburg, in 1548, made into the circle of Burgundy, a territory only nominally connected with the empire. Charles was the first to convoke the States-General of the seventeen provinces. He really succeeded in awaking a certain feeling of nationality in these bilingual lands, one part of which had heretofore looked upon the other as a foreign country. The soil, originally rescued from the sea, was in great part barren, with a climate cold, damp, and severe; to the amazement of Europe the Dutch had, by unwearying industry and consummate skill, made their land one of the richest in the world. The Netherlander did not strike the stranger as an altogether amiable man; the Venetians describe him as cold, dissolute, and avaricious. But his activity and skill could not be gainsaid. Foreigners saw the externals only; they were ignorant of the ardent passion, the fearless energy, and the enthusiastic devotion for religion, for country, and for freedom, which lay beneath the cold exteriors of the Dutch.

They had succeeded during the Middle Ages in preserving their extensive liberties. Especially was this true of Brabant, with its "Joyous Entry," or *Blyde Inkomst*, which every new ruler had to swear to observe, before the province tendered him allegiance. Regular forms of trial were insured to every citizen; none but Brabanters could hold office; the estates had the right to tax themselves; violation of their guarantees by the prince released the citizens of allegiance to him. Similar franchises and liberties were enjoyed by Holland and other provinces.

Charles V. had tried successfully to annul a part of those privileges, but had thus caused a great deal of irritation. If the provinces, on the whole, remained true to him, it was due to both personal and general grounds. Charles was a Netherlander by birth, had been brought up

by and among Netherlanders, and, whenever he sojourned among them, could use their language and conform to their customs perfectly. For important service in war and in his civil administration he often employed Netherlanders. His fame and power reflected honor upon the Netherlands. Then, in spite of the burdensome taxation, the condition of the provinces, especially the Flemish ones, which were at this time decidedly in advance of the rest, was exceedingly prosperous. Charles had granted to their merchants the same privileges as to those of Spain, and they soon became the importers of American products for the whole of Central and Northern Europe. While the Italian and German cities were losing more and more control of the world's trade, it flowed in increasing volume into Spanish, and especially Dutch, ports. Antwerp was at this time the first commercial city of the world. She owned 4500 ships; 500 vessels entered or left her harbor daily; every week 2000 wagons laden with merchandise passed her gates for France or Germany. "The world," said a proverb of the day, "is a ring, and Antwerp is the jewel in it." In other parts of the Netherlands the herring fishery, agriculture, the manufactures of cloth, lace, and velvet, and beer-brewing, etc., gave employment and wealth to the four million inhabitants.

The Reformation had penetrated into these countries, where mystics and thinkers had long been preparing the way for it. Lutherans appeared in the Netherlands as early as 1519, and increased rapidly. Antwerp, then in constant intercourse with Germany and Scandinavia, became a centre of the new doctrines. The Walloon provinces, poorer and more backward, still under the rule of large feudal proprietors, remained generally true to the old faith—with the important exceptions of the rich commercial cities of Valenciennes and Tournai. We have already seen that after the year 1521 Charles V. proceeded vigorously against heretics. In 1522 he reorganized the Inquisition, which had fallen into disuse in the Netherlands, appointing its masters alternately with the pope. But all his severe measures only embittered the Protestants, and made them regard the Spanish rulers as deadly foes, whose destruction was essential to the triumph of the purer faith. Still, while Charles V. reigned, there were no general outbreaks, for he was looked upon as a national sovereign. But under Philip II. it was different; the Netherlanders considered him a foreigner. He, on the other hand, was firmly determined not only to extirpate heresy in the seventeen provinces, but also to bind them more closely to the Spanish government. Consequently, against the fundamental rights of the Netherlands, and even after the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, he had the country occupied by foreign troops.

On the way back to Madrid he appointed as his regent in Brussels his natural sister, Margaret (Fig. 129), Duchess of Parma, daughter of Charles V. by a Flemish woman. Like so many princesses of the Spanish house, she had a strong masculine character. Though devoted to her brother and to the Catholic faith, she was, notwithstanding, welcomed by the Netherlanders, among whom she had been brought up, and who considered her as their countrywoman. As her chief counsellor, Philip assigned her Granvella (Fig. 130), Bishop of Arras, whose hard and bold character he thought well fitted to deal with the heretical Netherlanders. Granvella was at this time forty-three years old, profoundly versed in civil and ecclesiastical law, acquainted with several foreign



FIG. 129. Margaret of Parma. From a contemporary engraving by F. Hogenberg, who died in 1590.

tongues, and endowed with an unlimited capacity for work. For appearance's sake there was created also a council of state consisting of the foremost lords and highest officials of the country.

From the first the regent had to struggle against great difficulties. The Netherlanders were incensed at the bloody persecution of the Protestants, as well as at the presence of foreign soldiers among them. Their wrath was turned especially against Granvella, who was thought to be the originator of all unpopular measures. The nobles, who were largely actuated by ambition rather than by love of religious or political liberty, and who saw themselves set aside by the new administration, carefully fanned the public dissatisfaction, hoping by the fall of the minister to become themselves the rulers of the land. At their head was William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and lord of rich estates in

the Netherlands (Fig. 131). Born in 1533, he had very early shown a maturity of judgment, tact, and wisdom that had won for him the favor of Charles V., who employed him in important military and political affairs. Philip II., on the contrary, from the very first treated him with marked coldness. Orange sought, therefore, to make for himself an independent position by assuming the defence of the rights of the states against the Spaniards. His prudence, affability, and liberality won him friends everywhere, both among the Catholics and the Protestants. Foremost among these friends was Lamoral of Egmont, the renowned victor of Gravelines, a good soldier, but a poor politician, who



FIG. 130. —Medal with portrait of Cardinal Granvella. Original size. (Berlin.)

certainly did not suspect that his astute companion was aiming at nothing less than the complete overthrow of the absolute and monkish government the Spaniards had set up in the Netherlands.

A new measure of Philip to stop the progress of heresy and to hold in check the haughty temporal lords now came to intensify the general dissatisfaction. With the approval of the pope, Philip added thirteen new bishoprics to the four that already existed in the Netherlands. This arbitrary act, being a clear violation of the "joyous entry" and aiming at the introduction of the Spanish church system into the country, roused great indignation. The fact that the hated Granvella, as Cardinal-archbishop of Mechlin, was the head of the new organization did not render the thing any more palatable.

common. The governors and the lesser officials—all of them Netherlanders—did not disturb them, and when, on an order from Brussels, the cruel laws against heresy were enforced in some cases, a universal outcry was raised against Spain and Granvella, whose position grew more and more untenable. The nobles, particularly the Knights of the Golden Fleece, brought repeated accusations against him before the regent, and even before the king. Finally, Orange and Egmont succeeded in inducing Count Hoorn, admiral of the Netherlands and governor of Zutphen, to enter into a close compact with them. The three sent a new petition to Philip urging the recall of Granvella (March, 1563). The king hesitated long to sacrifice his faithful servant to the malcontents, but when Margaret earnestly joined in the request he finally yielded, and Granvella left Brussels “to pay a visit to his mother” in Franche-Comté. Universal rejoicing followed his departure from the Netherlands, especially among the nobles, who expected now to have things their own way. But still heretics were sent to the stake, surrounded often by crowds of people who drove magistrates and executioners to flight. A synod of Walloon churches met in Antwerp, openly proclaimed its declaration of faith, and invoked the protection of the Emperor Maximilian II. Although the politic Orange still claimed to be a Catholic, he opposed the persecution of Calvinists. The estates of Flanders asked for the entire abolition of the judicial power of the church. Personal and political quarrels arose between the regent and the Cardinalists, or partisans of Granvella, and the entire administration threatened to collapse.

Commissioned by the regent and the higher nobility, Egmont (Fig. 132), in January, 1565, went to Madrid, the new capital of Spain, to ask the king for a reorganization of the administration and for a modification of the edict relating to religion. He was received by Philip in the most amicable way, and dismissed with the finest promises. But all this was for show; a new instruction from the king postponed all reforms indefinitely, and ordered the persecution of the heretics to continue. “I would rather lose a hundred thousand lives,” he wrote, “than suffer religion to be in the least altered.”

This attitude on the part of Philip called forth the most angry denunciations all over the land. What! the wishes of the whole people were to receive no notice? the bloody stream of persecution was again to be let loose upon the Netherlands more violently than ever? It was no longer the regent or the minister who could be charged with this; the king himself publicly avowed himself the inexorable foe of the nation. The dissatisfaction of the Netherlanders concentrated on the king. It



*Lamoralaldus Princeps Gauerus. Comes
Egmondanus, Flandriae Arthesiæq; Præfectus.*

FIG. 132.—Count of Egmont. Reduced facsimile of a contemporary anonymous engraving in the Brussels Cabinet des Estampes.

was against him that the opposition now drew up, under the leadership of the brave and important class of middle and lower nobles. They were ambitious men; Charles V. had won them by assigning to them important posts in the state and in the army, but Philip, with his Spanish

exclusiveness, had left them unoccupied and unrewarded. At their head was Viscount Brederode, an ambitious adventurer. The other and more respectable leaders were Louis of Nassau, Orange's brother, inferior to William in political subtlety, but more disinterested, of firmer convictions, and bolder; also the brothers Marnix, sons of a French nobleman, who had received a thorough education in Geneva, where they had also imbibed Calvinism. By far the abler of the two was Philipp Marnix of Sainte-Aldegonde (born 1538), an ardent Protestant and able statesman, soldier, theologian, and poet. These leaders prepared a bond or compact of freedom, which they entered upon at Brussels, in the Kuylenburg house, with twenty other nobles, the so-called "Compromise," which was aimed especially at the Inquisition (November, 1565). In a short time thousands had joined them, burghers as well as nobles, both Catholic and Protestant. This was the heyday of the struggle for freedom—the whole people were united against Spanish tyranny.

The Confederates had determined to present a petition to the regent



FIG. 133.—Badge of "The Beggars." Obverse: the head of Philip II. Reverse: clasped hands and the beggar's wallet.

in the name of the whole body. Orange and the other great nobles had not openly joined the Compromise, but they had welcomed it. In April, 1566, four hundred of the Confederates, fully armed, rode into Brussels, and, in their name, Brederode presented to the regent a petition requesting in moderate terms a mitigation of the edicts against heresy. Partly from fear, partly also, it may be, from conviction, Margaret gave them a favorable answer, and ordered a provisional suspension of the persecutions against Protestants. The Confederates celebrated the happy issue of their expedition in joyous banquets. A partisan of Granvella had contemptuously called them "a mob of beggars" (*tas de gueux*); they accepted it, and henceforth the "Gueux" (Fig. 133) and their wallets and wooden bowls played an important part in the Netherlands. Meanwhile, the regent had sent Baron de Montigny to Madrid to obtain her brother's sanction of what she had done.

The victory at Brussels increased the boldness of the Calvinists. They now gathered, five or six thousand at a time, and well armed, to hear the preaching of the Gospel. Consistories were established in the chief cities, with a general synod at Antwerp. By the side of the Compromise of the nobles arose the Compromise of the merchants. The most ardent and bellicose of the partisans of religious reform organized armed bands, whose most frequent resort was the forest region of South Flanders, and who became known as the Forest Gueux. The higher nobility also began to raise troops. The moment seemed to have come when nothing short of Philip's prompt appearance in the Netherlands could save the provinces to him and to Catholicism.

It was the greatest mistake of his reign, that, either from fear of hurting his dignity or from unwillingness to endure the discomforts of the journey, he did not come to the Netherlands. While the upper classes had been preparing an army, the lower classes had gone further, and begun to destroy images, which they looked upon as idolatrous, and then all church ornaments. This iconoclastic movement began at St. Omer, in August, 1566, and then spread over almost all the Netherlands. Thousands of churches were shamefully plundered by the armed rabble, innumerable works of art were destroyed, and costly vases and ornaments stolen. This was a decisive turning-point in the history of the provinces. Not only did it render any peaceful arrangement with Philip utterly impossible, but it led the Catholics, however reluctantly, to separate themselves from a movement that threatened their church with destruction. The Gueux themselves dared not identify their cause with that of the image-breakers. Orange, with a skilful admixture of gentleness and severity, put down the most dangerous uprising, that in Antwerp, and afterward the lesser ones in the other parts of his government. His friends among the higher nobles showed themselves likewise patient with the peaceful Protestants, but inexorable with the rioters. Egmont, however, went back unreservedly to the royal party.

But all these efforts were too late. The regent was amazed and shocked at the consequences of her policy of concession, and, throwing aside all moderation, went over to the party of zealots. Troops were raised, mainly in the Walloon provinces that had remained Catholic. Now Philip's opportunity had come! With grim satisfaction he saw events justify his opinion that severity alone could be of use and concessions could but lead to increased trouble. Yet, with characteristic hypocrisy, whilst using the mildest terms in reference to the Netherlands, leading the whole world, the pope included, to expect his journey to the provinces, and apparently welcoming the advice of the Holy Father, of

Granvella, and of Margaret herself, to use gentle means only to bring the disaffected to reason, he had already decided on the sternest and most decided methods of action.

Orange, informed of this, tried to organize armed resistance, but Egmont's defection rendered such a course impossible. Meanwhile, the regent had forbidden all exercise of the Protestant worship, had cut down a body of zealous Calvinists at Austruweel, near Antwerp, and was proceeding to occupy all of the principal towns with strong garrisons. Valenciennes refused to receive a royal force, and was besieged and taken; the cruel penalty inflicted on the unfortunate city terrified the rest into immediate submission (March, 1567). Orange saw that for a while the freedom of the Netherlands was lost, and, resolving to save himself for more favorable times, he withdrew to Dillenburg, in Nassau, one of his German estates. He entreated Egmont with tears either to take up arms with him or with him to make his escape—but in vain. The count, a man of uncertain, vacillating mind, strove by a show of excessive loyalty to make his masters forget his former opposition. Others, Brederode among them, were more wise and fled to foreign lands. Antwerp submitted to the regent, who now was undisputed mistress in the seventeen provinces.

But all this was not sufficient for Philip. He could not forgive his sister for having, for a while, acted in opposition to his views, and resolved to displace her, and in her stead appoint a man who, from the very first, had recommended cruel measures, the Duke of Alva. The duke was consequently sent from Italy to the Netherlands with an army of 10,000 tried veterans.

His mere name evoked terror and despair. He entered Brussels on August 22, 1567, and at once assumed the part of a master, paying slight attention to the regent and quartering his soldiers as if in a conquered town. Then he struck a deadly blow at the Catholic higher nobility, whom he had at first cajoled and flattered. Having by hypocritical invitations allured Count Hoorn to Brussels, he arrested him, together with Egmont and a few other prominent nobles; they found out too late how correct had been Orange's anticipation. In December, 1567, Margaret at length obtained the permission to leave the Netherlands, now wholly estranged from her. "She would rather," she said, "fall into the power of the Turks, than to submit to what the duke imposed upon her."

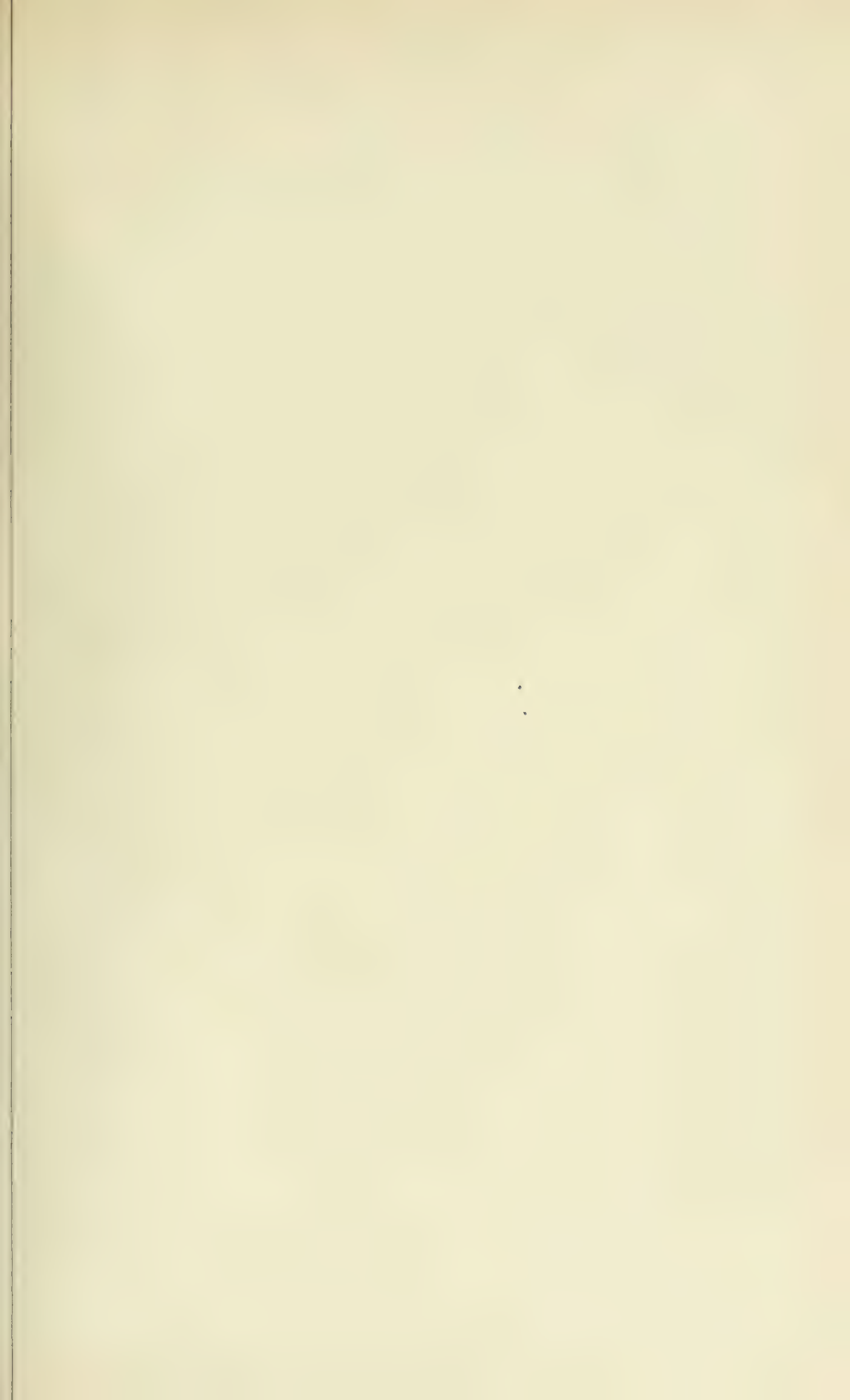
Alva's hands were now free to carry out his bloody measures against the Netherlanders. He appointed a tribunal to take cognizance of all offences of a political or religious nature, irrespective of any existing laws, called by the people the Council of Blood. Although carefully

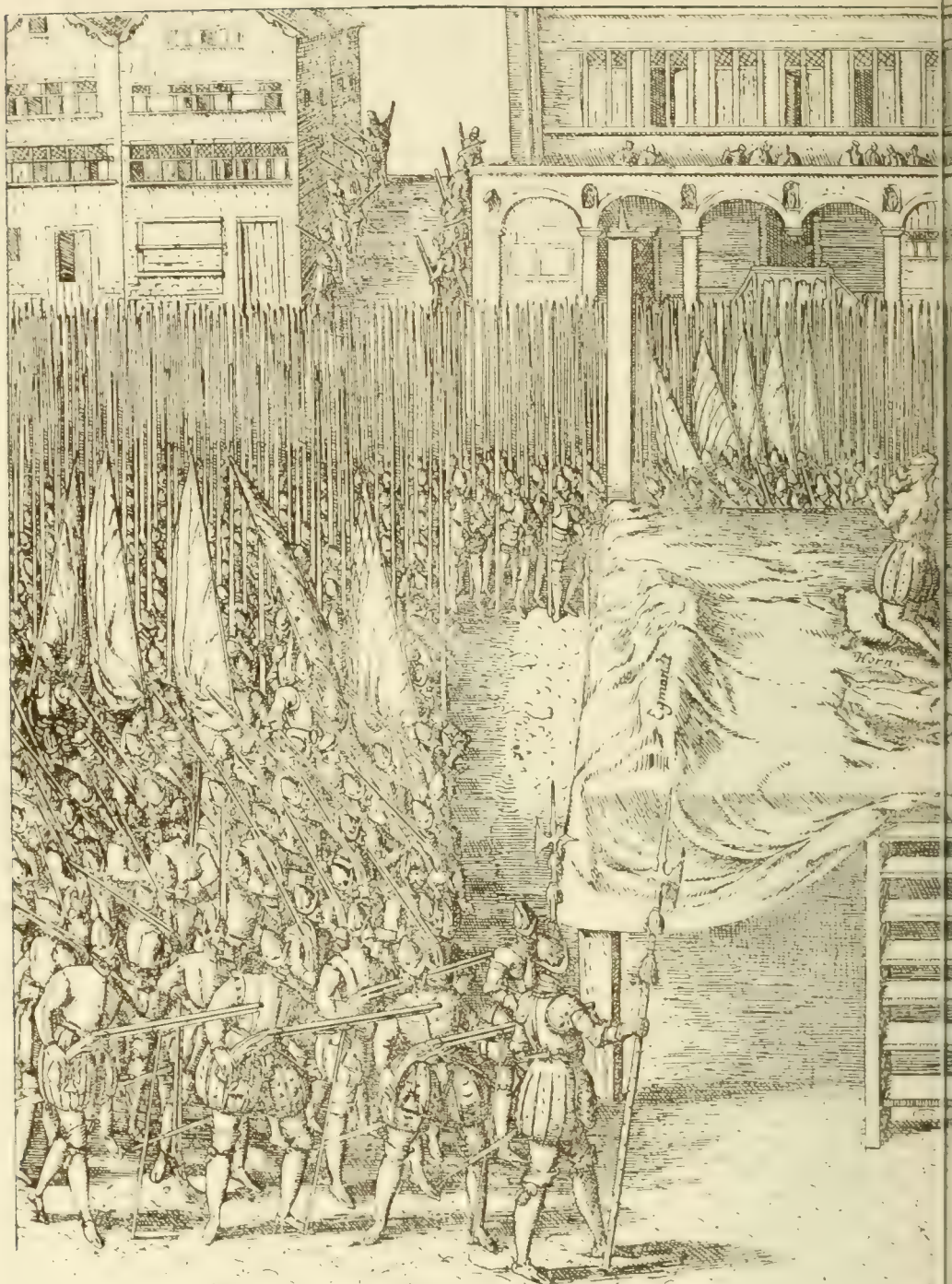
made up of Spaniards and of Netherlanders of most pronounced royalist and Catholic sentiments, its members soon grew disgusted and horrified at the bloodthirstiness of Alva, who was contemptuous even of the forms of justice, and they ceased to take any part in the deliberations. The only judge that sat regularly and uttered sentences was Juan Vargas, a man who had been indicted in Spain for repeated crimes, but on this very account was more blindly subservient to Alva's will. Vargas and his colleagues condemned thousands to imprisonment, to torture, and to execution, without understanding one word of the native speech of their victims. If they could find no excuse for the execution of an accused, his property was declared forfeit. Good Catholics left the country in large numbers, revolting at this iniquitous rule; even the most loyal among the natives, nay the royal councils themselves, began to murmur at it.

Now the time had come, Orange thought, for effecting the rescue of his country, and for avenging himself on Philip, who had confiscated his estates in the Netherlands, and carried his eldest son, a student in Mechlin, to Spain. He and the other great nobles sacrificed what was left of their possessions to secure means for raising an army of liberation. In the spring of 1568 the fiery Louis of Nassau marched into Friesland, and on May 23, at Heiligerlee, won a brilliant victory over the Spaniards.

Everything now depended on whether the country, in spite of the muskets and pikes of the Spanish soldiery, would have the courage to join the handful of deliverers. Alva determined to prevent this by the terrors of increased cruelties. Besides many unfortunates of lower rank, Egmont and Hoorn were condemned to death (PLATE XVII.) in spite of the petitions of all Europe, and on June 5, 1568, they were executed on the market-place of Brussels, in sight of the magnificent city hall, that monument of municipal freedom and independence. In his vindictiveness, Philip so wholly forgot the brilliant services of the conqueror of Gravelines that he confiscated his estates, and could hardly be induced by Alva himself to grant a meagre pension to Egmont's widow and numerous children. Baron de Montigny was strangled in a Spanish prison.

These new executions had the effect which Alva had desired to produce: terror-stricken, the Netherlands remained inactive. Louis of Nassau's small army was defeated at Jemmingen, June 21, and driven out of Friesland. William of Orange himself was equally unsuccessful; lack of money and the inactivity of the Belgian population obliged him again to seek refuge in Germany. Philip II. had secured his aim—for a while. Despotism and fanatical Catholicism were supreme in the





Primater haß, vnd alterer groll,
Davon die Spaniardt toll vnd voll.

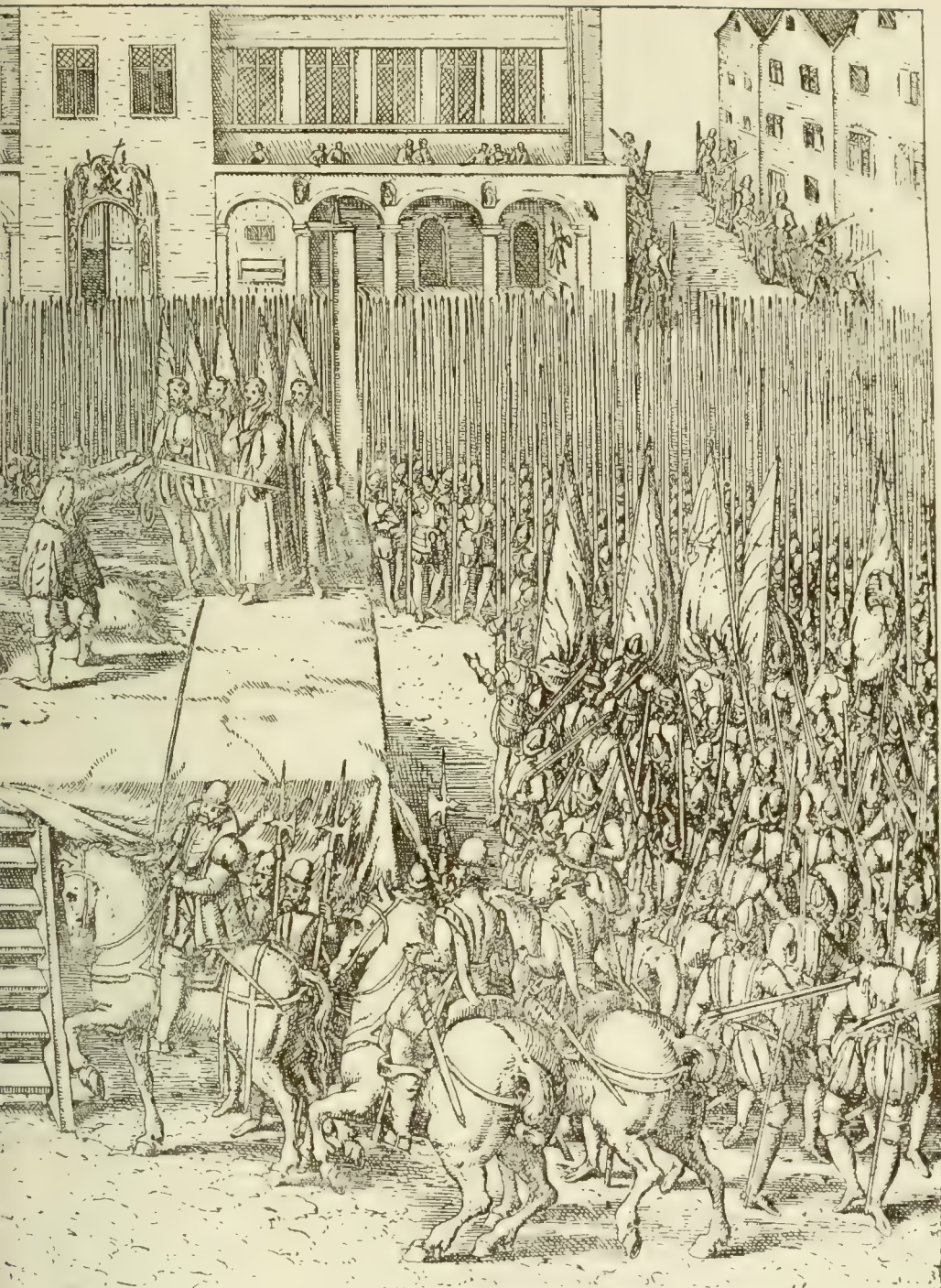
13

Egmont vnd Horn heid vom Orden,
Zu Brüssel schendlich thunt ermorden.

Anno Dñj M. D. LX

The Execution of Egmont and Horn

Faësimile of a contemporary engraving



Im Junio am funfften tag.
Tausendr. funffhundert sechszich acht.
II. V. Junij.

Als baldt die stundt angezeigt illff.
So wirdt belhont ir treuwe hillff.

n in the Market-place of Brussels.
by Francis Hogenberg (died 1590).

provinces, and liberty seemed to be dead. Alva celebrated his complete and easy victory by public festivities and by erecting a colossal statue of himself, cast with captured artillery, in the citadel of Antwerp.

The bishops of the Netherlands had repeatedly but vainly entreated the duke to deal mercifully with their people. He was determined to rule by terror, to destroy the political liberties of the seventeen provinces, and to turn their wealth into the insatiable Spanish treasury. In March, 1569, he demanded of the States-General a tax of the hundredth penny (one per cent.) on all property, real and personal, to be collected immediately, but once only; a permanent tax of the twentieth penny (five per cent.) on every transfer of real estate, and a tax of the tenth penny (ten per cent.), also permanent, to be assessed upon every article of personal property as often as it was sold.

As long as it had been simply a question of liberty of conscience, the great majority of the Netherlands had, however reluctantly, submitted; but now an attack was made upon their purses; the tax of the tenth penny threatened to put an end to all trade, and everyone, Catholic as well as Protestant, was incensed at it. It was the financial policy of Alva that turned the people of the Netherlands into irreconcilable enemies of Spain. It is true that Alva consented to accept, during two years, instead of the taxes an annual payment of two million gold thalers. But at the end of this period, in spite of the bitter opposition of the native members of the secret council, particularly Viglius and Berlaymont, who could not look calmly on the ruin of their country, the terrible edict began to be enforced. The excitement was intense. In every province, in every city, the magistrates entered an impassioned protest against the execution of the edict. The masses assumed a threatening aspect; they pledged themselves not to pay a farthing of the hated tax. Property seized for non-payment found no purchasers. The brewers closed their vaults; bakers and butchers their shops; the necessities of life rose to extraordinary prices, and threatened to fail altogether. It was evident that famine must soon bring on a terrible uprising. Even Spanish statesmen warned Philip of the inevitable results of Alva's policy.

As for the duke, he was preparing to avert the threatened outbreak by his usual method, by seizing and hanging before their closed doors a few score of the most prominent merchants of Brussels, when a striking piece of news reached him just in time to prevent his subjecting the strained patience of the people to a new trial.

For years the outlawed and exiled leaders of the patriotic party had remained in quiet and discouragement in foreign lands. Philipp Marnix

of Sainte-Aldegonde had carried on the contest with his pen by letters, songs, and caustic satires against the Roman Catholic church and clergy. William of Orange had been ruined by the confiscation of his estates and the outlay for the unfortunate expedition of 1568. But these years of trial had ennobled his character and his aims, and had made him the most resolute and fearless champion of the religious and political liberties of his country. Although personally a Calvinist, he was far above narrow bigotry. He preached to his adherents tolerance and kindness, not toward Protestant sects alone, but even toward papists. He was as ready to put the Netherlands under the sovereignty of Catholic France as under that of Protestant England, if either of these two powers would protect them from the tyranny of Spain.

William had kept up a constant correspondence with a few friends in the provinces; at length, from the signs of general discontent reported to him, he thought that the hour had come to renew the struggle for freedom; this time by sea, since the land was closed against them. "Beggars of the Sea" was the name given to the bold freebooters that rallied around him; a set of men who knew little of mercy toward their foes. Their admiral, William de la Mark, was a cruel, dissolute nobleman, who had sworn to let his hair and beard grow until he had avenged the death of his cousin Egmont. By a successful *coup de main*, with the assistance of a few Protestant citizens, they made themselves masters, April 1, 1572, of the little fortified harbor of Briel, at the mouth of the Meuse, and victoriously repulsed the attack of a strong Spanish force that was sent to dislodge them. The example of Briel was contagious. Within a few days, Flushing, Delfshaven, Schiedam, declared for Orange as the legitimate stadtholder. Thousands joined the "Beggars." William now openly assumed control of the movement, and France and England vied with each other in giving him help. Everything seemed to promise success. In the northwest, where Spanish garrisons were less numerous, Holland, Zealand, Guelders, Overijssel, and Utrecht rose up and drove out their magistrates that inclined toward Spain. William of Orange was acknowledged as stadtholder by Holland and three other provinces; and William promised not to decide or order anything without the advice of the estates. This was a sort of constitution, the beginning of the independent existence of the Netherlands (July, 1572). William based it on the noblest of principles—political and religious freedom. He expressly forbade any ill-treatment of the Catholics. Meanwhile, in the south, Louis of Nassau, with the aid of the French, had seized the strong city of Mons. William's army of 16,000 men soon pressed forward into Brabant.

At first Alva was somewhat disturbed by these successive blows ; but the veteran commander soon recovered himself. To pacify the excitement against him he revoked the edict of the tenth and twentieth penny, but at the same time sent his son, Federigo de Toledo, with his best regiments, against Mons. The young general annihilated the French auxiliary troops under Genlis at St. Ghislain. Just then the news of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew reached William. "What a blow!" he exclaimed, "France was my only hope!" His adherents lost heart ; his soldiers left him ; his conquests in Brabant slipped out of his hands. Mons was obliged to capitulate. Noirearmes, in spite of the terms of the surrender, terrorized the unfortunate town for eleven long months, working such misery and ruin as centuries have failed to repair. Mechlin also, which had for a few days harbored the soldiers of Orange, was sacked. The storm drew near the north. The undisciplined and ill-paid forces of William, the valiant but inexperienced and half-armed patriots, were, as yet, no match for the disciplined veterans of Spain. Guelders, Overijssel, and Utrecht had to bow again to the yoke. The few cities that offered any resistance were punished with fearful cruelty. The province of Holland alone still defended the national liberties. But now was the time for these calm, tenacious Friesians to show by their immortal deeds their courage and heroism. The nobility had failed in its efforts to secure independence—the cities of the north, freedom's last bulwarks, now took up the contest. Orange, who had sought refuge among the Hollanders, could give them advice and cheer them, but had no material aid to offer. Naarden fell ; Haarlem also, after an heroic defence of seven months, went up in flames. It took all of William's indomitable firmness to keep the rest of Holland from laying down its arms.

At last a ray of hope beamed upon the hard-pressed patriots. The Spanish treasury was empty, exhausted by the civil war, and the unpaid troops of Philip began to murmur. The little city of Alkmaar made a victorious defence against a vastly superior Spanish force. Charles IX. of France again made approaches to the Netherlands. And, beyond all the rest, their inexorable and terrible foe, the Duke of Alva, had to leave the Flemish provinces.

Philip had at length discovered how untrustworthy and double-edged a weapon is the executioner's axe. He, indeed, had been the one to put it into Alva's hands, and by definite commands to allay or overcome any scruples the duke himself might entertain. But now since the system had proved unavailing and harmful, since resistance could not be put down, and since the Netherlands, instead of being as formerly a source of strength for Spain, now devoured her best soldiers and all her rev-



FIG 134. Armor of the Duke of Alva.
(Madrid.)

enues, the king deemed it best to dismiss the duke. At his sovereign's command, Alva, in December, 1573, left a land where every one, without exception, detested him; where he had caused unutterable misery and indescribable ruin, and inflicted incurable wounds on the power of Spain.

The system of uncompromising severity was a failure; moderation and mildness were next tried. The new governor-general was Don Luis de Requesens y Cuñiga, Grand Commander of Castile, an accomplished soldier and statesman who had risen from modest beginnings. He began his administration with gentle measures. But however earnest may have been the desire for reconciliation on the part of Spain, it was impossible to fill the wide and bloody chasm between her and her victims. The six years during which Alva (Fig. 134), with the full and well-known approbation of Philip, had assailed the liberties of the Netherlands and shed the blood of her sons could never be forgotten nor forgiven.

So the struggle went on with varying success. Count Louis of Nassau found a hero's death on the fatal field of Mooker Heath—a heavy loss for the cause of liberty! On the other hand, Zealand joined the insurgents, and Leyden, under her valiant burgomaster, Peter van der Werff, repelled with heroic valor the Spanish attacks. When, hard pressed by hunger and fever, the brave city seemed doomed to succumb, the dykes were broken and

the Spanish camp was overflowed. The loss to the country was enormous, estimated at seven tons of gold, but Leyden was free, and 15,000 Spaniards had fallen under her walls (autumn, 1574). To reward the valiant city for its brave defence and compensate her for her losses, William and the Estates of Holland founded in it a university, which for three centuries has won honor for the city and for the land.

Soon afterward, in October, 1575, in the face of the whole vast Spanish empire, the two provinces of Holland and Zeeland boldly declared themselves independent. They made express reservation for an alliance with the other provinces. It was fortunate for them that in March, 1576, Requesens died, worn out by cares and disappointment, at the early age of fifty. The emptiness of the Spanish treasury and the consequent mutiny among his soldiers had given him more trouble even than the insurgents. His death hastened the complete collapse of the Spanish rule, for the feeble authority of the council that assumed control until the arrival of a new governor was altogether inadequate for the difficulties of the situation. The council had to arm the citizens to keep in check the excesses of the Spanish regiments, which had not been paid for years and had to resort to plunder to subsist. But the arms thus furnished were turned against the council; a body of conspirators seized Berlaymont and Viglius, its most influential members, and the government of the Netherlands fell completely into the hands of the patriots (autumn, 1576). On November 4, 1576, the Spanish garrison of the citadel of Antwerp rushed into the streets of the city, overcame all resistance, butchered 5000 citizens, and caused terrible loss to the city by plunder and fire. This "Spanish fury" was repeated in other cities of Brabant and of Flanders.

At these atrocities a cry of indignation and of revenge went through the whole land. The time for delay was past; on November 8 the plenipotentiaries of all the provinces, with the single exception of Luxemburg, signed the so-called Pacification of Ghent, by which they pledged themselves to drive out the Spanish troops and restore their ancient constitutional liberties. In the northern provinces Protestants were to be unmolested; the general decision of religious and political questions was reserved to the States-General. This pacification was an attempt to recover and maintain the freedom of the United Netherlands in spite of the diversity of religious belief. It was the most promising moment in the history of the struggle. Unfortunately, it did not last. The failure of the attempt was due less to Spanish arms than to internal dissensions which the Pacification of Ghent only temporarily settled. Calvinists as well as Catholics were too intolerant to admit of a long

union. Besides, there were unavoidable causes of disagreement between Orange, who claimed supreme authority, and the rest of the higher nobility, who refused to concede it to him.

This was just what Philip had expected, and he resolved to make all possible concessions to secure again a firm foothold in the country, leaving the rest to the future. He meant to calm the Netherlands by meeting them half way, and sending them as governor the famous and affable conqueror of Lepanto, his half-brother, Don John of Austria. The instructions he gave him seemed extraordinarily conciliatory and peaceable, and enjoined upon him to yield as far as possible to the demands of the provinces.

Such a task, more diplomatic than military, was little to Don John's taste. He would have preferred availing himself of his position in the Netherlands and of the Spanish troops there to cross over to England, set Mary Stuart free, and thereby win the hand of the beautiful queen and the crown of the British Isles. Mary's trusted friends had assured him of her assent to this bold project, and the Irish Catholics had promised to further it by a general uprising. So romantic and adventurous an idea was quite tempting to the rash spirit of the ambitious prince. But the secretary of state, Antonio Perez, whom Don John had trusted as his friend, betrayed the plan at once to Philip, whose distrust of his half-brother was reawakened and increased.

The situation of John in the Netherlands was extremely difficult. "These people would rather call in the French, nay even the Turks, than allow the Spaniards to come in," he wrote to his brother. The States-General were wholly under the influence of William of Orange, who had been bitterly and publicly opposed to the sending of the Hapsburg prince. The estates would not recognize Don John as governor-general till he had accepted the so-called Union of Brussels and legalized it by the "Perpetual Edict" of Marche-en-Famenne (February, 1577). This edict, conforming to the Pacification of Ghent, pledged Don John to dismiss the Spanish troops at once, restore all the liberties of the seventeen provinces, and recognize Orange as stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland; on the other hand, the Catholic religion was to be maintained. After this agreement Don John, in May, 1577, made his entry into Brussels, where, for a while, his personal attractiveness won him great popularity.

A better future seemed to wait for the hard-tried land. A tolerable union, self-government by its own representatives, and only a loose protectorate by Spain, these were the immediate gains to the Netherlands. The governor-general, however, was ill pleased at the condition of affairs. The Perpetual Edict restricted his power; the people still looked with

distrust upon everything Spanish. He entreated his brother to remove him from this "set of knaves," and allow him to begin his English expedition at the head of the Spanish troops. The king was naturally offended at this behavior, and left Don John without reinforcements, and withdrew the Spanish soldiers from the Netherlands to Italy, where John had no control over them.

This shattering of all his wishes and plans excessively irritated the prince. He continued his scheming, contrary to the king's express wishes; entered into negotiations with Elizabeth of England, to whom he proposed marriage. Philip was kept fully informed of all by Antonio Perez, who played the shameful part of "tempting agent," and kept Don John surrounded with innumerable spies.

Meantime, everything in the Netherlands was in ferment again—to altogether by Don John's fault. The States-General proved recalcitrant, Holland and Zealand refused, on religious grounds, to recognize the Perpetual Edict, and, in the main, every one did as he chose. Orange, either from patriotism because he feared the secret plots of Philip and the restoration of Spanish rule, or from ambition, or, more probably, from both, sought to put an end to the peace and resort again to war. The Calvinists, especially in the lower classes, went even farther. For the Spanish interests it had been better if Don John, according to Philip's instructions, had practiced patience and had made use of the loyal Catholic noblemen, who were gathering about him from the Walloon provinces in ever-increasing numbers, to checkmate the Protestant-Orange party. Such a course his successor followed with great success. But Don John was no statesman, and acted mainly from personal considerations. For his own ends he deemed it necessary that he should be sole master of the country. He sent his secretary, Escobedo, to Madrid to justify to Philip his resolution, obtain the return of the Spanish army to the Netherlands, and demand money supplies. Then, with his guards, he surprised (July 24, 1577) the citadel of Namur, considered at that time as impregnable; he soon made himself master of Charlemont, and, as Luxemburg remained loyal to him, he began to hope he might restore royal authority in the rebellious Netherlands.

But these violent measures of his were really fatal to the royal cause. The Catholic nobles forsook him, the States-General threateningly demanded his recall and placed themselves unreservedly under the guidance of the irreconcilable foe of Spain, William of Orange. The provincial estates of Brabant at once elected Orange as *ruraert* or regent. It is true that the great nobles were jealous of William, and elected as governor-general Matthias, younger brother of Emperor Rudolph II.,

who, against the wishes of both the emperor and Philip, entered Brussels. The archduke was a man of too little talent and consideration to be entrusted with the real authority; Orange, who was assigned to him as lieutenant-general, retained the control of affairs. His vigorous will inspired the States-General, who, in the beginning of 1578, formed an alliance with Elizabeth. She lent them 100,000 pounds sterling to raise and equip troops.

Don John was not inactive. He recalled the Spanish regiments, and with these and German soldiers and French auxiliaries secretly sent him by the Guises he formed a small but excellent army, with which he suddenly attacked at Gembloux a much larger force of Netherlanders and almost destroyed it (January 31, 1578). A considerable part of Flanders, Brabant and Hainaut fell into the hands of the victor. Unfortunately, he was without money, supplies, and artillery to push on and turn his brilliant success to permanent profit. He vainly besought the king for instructions, for gold, for the return of Escobedo—he could obtain nothing. It had been reported to the suspicious tyrant that Escobedo had hinted that from a few northern seaports as a base, all Castile might readily be mastered; and not long afterward the secretary requested for himself the governorship of one of these ports. His guilt seemed evident to Philip, and there was another man equally desirous of getting rid of Escobedo. Philip had been for years in love with the beautiful Donna Anna de Mendoza, widow of the Prince of Eboli; she, however, remained obdurate to the monarch's wooing, and secretly preferred to him the elegant secretary of state, Antonio Perez. Escobedo learned of this, and, as an old servant of the prince, sought to put an end to the shameful intrigue by threatening to reveal it to the king. The princess and her lover thereupon determined to do away with this dangerous man, not a difficult task under the circumstances. Perez easily obtained from the king a written permission to put Escobedo to death as guilty of high treason, and on March 31, 1578, the unfortunate friend of Don John was assassinated in the public street by hirelings of Perez.

Don John was not a moment in doubt as to the planners of the murder, and he considered the loss of his trusty servant as a token of the sentence passed upon himself and his plans. The evil turn that affairs were taking in the Netherlands added to his anxiety. The Estates, aided by England and Protestant Germany, had collected an army of 50,000 men; the royal forces, decimated by famine and fever, amounted to scarcely 12,000. Abandoned by his brother, and threatened by an enemy far outnumbering him, Don John foresaw an ignominious end to his gov-

ernorship, and his proud heart consumed itself in impatience and anxiety. No wonder that he easily fell a victim to the contagious fever that raged among his soldiers, and that a premature death carried off the conqueror of Lepanto in his thirty-second year (October 1, 1578). The brother of Philip, as previously his son, was thus sacrificed to the distrustful selfishness of a morbid tyrant.

All the Netherlands, with the exception of Namur and Luxemburg, had shaken off the Spanish yoke. But they were plunged in confusion and discord. Against the few unconditional adherents of Spain, or "Juanists," as they were called after Don John, stood the ardent and bellicose Calvinists, who were devoted to Orange. Midway between these two extremes was the new party of "Malcontents," keeping aloof from Spain, but equally averse to Orange; they remained faithful to the old religion, and had for leaders members of the higher nobility, the Duke of Aerschot, the Marquis of Havré, and the younger Egmont. All these parties had foreign mercenaries in their pay: Englishmen, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Germans. Orange, who had labored to bring about universal religious peace, was denounced from the Protestant pulpits as a blasphemer. The soldiers of the different parties, inactive against the foe, relieved the tedium of their inglorious ease by laying waste the land of their employers.

Then it was that there came to the Netherlands their most formidable adversary, the new Spanish governor-general, Alessandro Farnese of Parma, son of the former regent, Margaret.

He was now thirty-three years of age. Brought up in the armies of the king of Spain, he was loyally attached to Philip as well as to the old faith. The situation was at first not unfavorable to him. John Casimir and the Duke of Anjou soon withdrew. The excesses of Calvinistic demagogues had bitterly angered the Walloon Catholics and led them to reprisals against the Protestants of their provinces. The profound antagonism between the Protestant tendencies of the Germanic provinces and the Catholic preferences of the Romance population was constantly manifesting itself. Farnese skilfully availed himself of it to induce the latter to make peace with Spain. Corruption and bribery played a great part in his policy.

On January 6, 1579, the provinces of Artois, Hainaut, and Walloon Flanders formed a league for the preservation of the Catholic faith, and joined Luxemburg and Namur, which were already in Spanish hands. Three weeks later, on the other hand, Holland, Zealand, Guelders, Utrecht and the Friesian provinces formed the Union of Utrecht, a permanent league for the common defense against Spain or any other foreign power, as

well as for the preservation of complete religious liberty. This was the foundation-stone of the republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. Later on, Overijssel and Groningen joined the Union. Taxes were imposed; troops were raised; a state had been created within the state. Thus Farnese had succeeded in effecting among the Netherlanders an important division, which nothing since has been able to change.

He was not the man to be satisfied with success so easily achieved. As a general, he was far abler than his opponent Orange, who, moreover, was kept so busy by dissensions between Catholics and Calvinists, demagogues and moderates, that he had neither time nor means left to act against the external foe. Alessandro could thus, with little difficulty, make himself master of Maestricht and Groningen in the east, occupy Mechlin, and thus obtain a foothold in the immediate vicinity of Brussels and Antwerp (PLATE XVIII.). Philip was not satisfied with these victories of his nephew, and in opposition to his advice, he published, March, 1580, against the Prince of Orange, whom he had vainly tried to detach from the cause of the Netherlands by the offer of brilliant personal advantages, the infamous decree of outlawry, which promised anyone who would rid him of the prince full pardon for all previous offences, however atrocious, twenty-five thousand gold crowns, and elevation to the nobility.

The prince replied by an "Apology," which, naturally enough, was scarcely less passionate than the decree; the answer of the States-General was a solemn declaration of independence, passed July 26, 1581. Could they maintain their independence? It appeared the more doubtful because the Protestant provinces of the Union of Utrecht held themselves aloof from the States-General. While these, frightened by new victories of Farnese, were again negotiating with the Duke of Anjou, this time offering him full sovereignty, the members of the Union would acknowledge none but William of Orange as their head. The Spanish cause had certainly made great advance since the arrival of Farnese, and Philip's ambition again began to concern itself with neighboring nations.

Everywhere, in the Netherlands as in Switzerland, in Germany as in France, the immediate results of the Reformation were strife, bloody discords, civil war. Two great religious principles grappled in deadly struggle, and it was only later, long afterward, indeed, when their supporters became convinced that neither could destroy the other, that toleration and respect for honest convictions were recognized by human society.



Bird's-eye View of Antwerp

Reduced facsimile of the engraving

ing; in Braun's *Städtebuch*, 1572.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE VICTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

HENRY VIII. had, before his death, recognized the improbability of maintaining Catholicism whilst depriving it of its lawful head, the papacy. The Council of Regency, to whose guidance he had intrusted the affairs of the realm during the minority of his only son, Edward VI., consisted mainly of men who favored the Reformation. They agreed to entrust one of their number with the supreme control, and chose therefor an uncle of the young king, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, who assumed the title of Lord Protector. He soon afterward bestowed upon himself the name and privileges of Duke of Somerset. Wholly won to the new doctrines, he turned for counsel to the man then acknowledged as head of reformed Europe, John Calvin. The latter gave him detailed answers. On the one hand, he recommended the use of carnal weapons against Catholics and Anabaptist Gospellers, and on the other, pointed out that solid and thorough instruction of the people is the best means of spreading the reformed faith. It was equally characteristic of Calvin that he enjoined the promulgation of a full and definite creed, and that he insisted on severe morality—laws and police to combine in promoting this. The reformer kept up an unbroken exchange of letters with the lord protector and his family.

The primate of England himself, Archbishop Cranmer, supported Somerset in his policy; distinguished Protestant divines, among whom was Bucer, were invited to England; the Six Articles were abolished; communion in both kinds and the marriage of the clergy were introduced. But the king's supremacy over the church, the appointment of bishops by the king, the episcopate as a divine institution, and the pomp of Catholic service were carefully retained. However friendly the young king himself was to Calvin, the Council of Regency had stopped very far short of the reformer's idea. Calvin was bitterly disappointed; in numerous letters he complains of "the leaven of idolatry," "the popish folly," that was still left in the English church.

This sudden religious conversion, like so many political and social revolutions, was followed by some disastrous consequences. Ecclesiastical benevolent institutions, hospitals, schools, etc., had been plundered or

destroyed, without being replaced by new ones ; and this at an extremely critical period. The Protestant clergymen, large numbers of whom had been appointed, and not always with very strict care, were often deficient in education, piety, and morality. Multitudes of the people understood the doctrine of the worthlessness of "good works" to mean that now all moral restraints were removed. Even Protestants conceded things had gone too far. And to this religious discontent was added a deep, all-pervading dissatisfaction among the lower agricultural classes, caused by the loss through enclosures of the traditional right to commons.

Somerset was not more fortunate in his foreign policy. He greatly wished to bring about the marriage of his young king to Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland. By this marriage, Scotland would have been withdrawn from French influence, its union with England secured, and thereby the triumph of Protestantism assured. To obtain these great objects, the lord protector invaded Scotland in the summer of 1547, and won at Pinkie a brilliant victory over the Scots. But instead of submitting, the latter resisted more valiantly than ever, their national antipathy to the English was increased, and soon afterward their young queen was taken to France, where she was betrothed to the dauphin. The interests of Catholicism and France had got the better of those of England and Protestantism.

In the family of the protector himself discord existed. His brother, Lord Admiral Thomas Seymour, had married Catharine Parr, widow of Henry VIII.; she died soon afterward, and Lord Seymour became a suitor for the hand of Princess Elizabeth, who seemed quite well-disposed toward his suit. He endeavored to ingratiate himself with king, nobility, and people alike, hoping to be enabled thereby to wrest the power from the hands of his brother the protector. Somerset thereupon accused him of high treason ; Parliament condemned him, and in March, 1549, he was executed. The unpopularity of the regent was greatly increased by this act.

Yet Somerset meant well and felt real compassion for the fearful destitution of the lower classes. He sought to remedy it effectively by the appointment of a commission to look into their grievances. The common people were jubilant over this ; but the influence of the nobles was so great, and they had so many friends in the commission, that it resulted in nothing. Projects of laws for the rebuilding of tenements, for the restriction of sheep-breeding, etc., were introduced only to suffer shipwreck on the obstinate and invincible opposition of a Parliament which consisted mainly of members of the higher classes. These well-meant efforts of the protector resulted in bitter disappointment to the people,

and in an increase of their hatred for the upper classes, Somerset included. These, on the other hand, were incensed at the duke for his endeavors, however futile, on behalf of the masses.

In 1549 a threatening rising broke out in the eastern counties. It was suppressed, but it was made clear that the situation was intolerable.

The nobles made a pretext of the general discontent to displace the protector, who had for a long time seemed to them too arbitrary (autumn, 1549). Lord Warwick, who headed them, assumed the principal charge of affairs. It soon became evident that though persons had changed, the system had not. Warwick was as arbitrary as Somerset had been. He appointed himself Duke of Northumberland. Somerset was executed.

Meanwhile, the Reformation advanced rapidly. The lords were mostly favorable to a change that had brought to them a large share of the wealth once owned by the church, and had humbled the higher clergy, once their rivals. The young king was a zealous Protestant. The Lower House did not venture to oppose the movement, although certainly two-thirds of the population were still attached, if not to the pope and the hierarchy, at least to the old faith. The laws against Catholic doctrines and worship grew more and more severe. The Book of Common Prayer and Cranmer's Forty-two Articles (1552) gave form and system to the innovations, and, in spite of a few external resemblances to Catholic forms, the English church had, for a while, gone over to the Protestant side.

Unfortunately for the Reformation in England, Edward VI. was carried off by premature death (July 6, 1553), when not quite seventeen years of age.

Just before his death he had sought to protect the interests of the Reformation by changing the regular order of succession. He excluded his sister Mary, a zealous Catholic, and, of necessity also, his Protestant sister Elizabeth, both as being born in unlawful wedlock, his cousin Mary of Scotland as a foreigner, and his cousin Margaret as illegitimate, and appointed as his successor another cousin, Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of the younger daughter of Henry VII. This substitution was not lawful, for Jane, no less than the other princesses, was born of a questionable union; besides, it offended the natural sense of justice to see a niece of Henry VIII. preferred to his daughters. Added to this was the fact that Northumberland had married Lady Jane, a fair, gentle, cultured maiden of seventeen, to his fourth son, Guildford Dudley. People declared, not without good ground, that Northumberland had pleaded the interests of Protestantism really to advance those of his own family. Not he alone, but Protestantism also, suffered from the indignation his

course evoked. Commoners and nobles took up arms for Mary Tudor, a daughter of Henry VIII. by his first wife, Catharine of Aragon, who had with praiseworthy firmness withstood all attempts made to force her to abjure the faith of her mother. Within nine days from the death of Edward she was the undisputed mistress of England. The ambitious Northumberland suffered the fate he had brought upon his predecessor, Somerset; Dudley and his wife Jane, the "nine days' queen," the unfortunate victim of another's ambition, were kept prisoners in the Tower.

The Protestants had indulged the hope that Mary would leave the religious situation unchanged. But the queen had seen her mother suffer too much at the hands of Reformers, and she herself had endured too much not to attack Protestantism. The displaced Catholic bishops were restored, and one of them, Gardiner, became the trusted counsellor of the queen, and was made Lord Chancellor. The Protestant prelates and preachers were removed, and many of them, as Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, thrown into prison. Images were restored everywhere, and the mass was again performed. In vain here and there in the country, and even in London itself, did the people resist these changes, in a few instances by armed force. The queen was inflexible. She appointed a Catholic Lord Mayor in her capital. A majority of the new Parliament favored her policy, and a single edict did away with all the innovations introduced or confirmed by Edward VI.

In her foreign policy also Mary favored Catholicism. Notwithstanding the opposition of all Englishmen, Catholics as well as Protestants, and in spite of the protest of Parliament, she betrothed herself to a foreign prince, Philip, heir to the crown of Spain. It is true that the conditions of the marriage were such that he could have only an indirect influence on English affairs, as no Spaniard, not even Philip himself, could hold any office in England. But who could guarantee that, once married to Mary, Philip would abide by those conditions?

This political question forced itself upon all patriotic Englishmen, without distinction of belief; the Protestants feared, in addition, the complete and final overthrow of their system. In the county of Kent the bold freeholders, in their devotion to the Reformation and hatred of all foreigners, rose under the leadership of Sir Thomas Wyatt. The militia gathered against them joined the insurgents. They advanced without meeting any serious resistance as far as the suburbs of London on the southern bank of the Thames. The Londoners were unruly; the queen was advised to flee; but the proud and valiant blood of the Tudors flowed in her veins; she refused to leave her capital, kept the population in awe, armed the most loyal among them, and summoned

her faithful nobles and their retainers to her defence. Wyatt was no military leader, and wasted precious time in silly demonstrations.

He was allowed to penetrate into the town with a few hundred followers, but only to be surrounded and taken prisoner. The insurrection fell to pieces. Terrible retribution followed, and among the victims were Lady Jane Grey and her husband (February 12, 1554). The Protestant bishops, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, were burned at the stake; Wyatt and a considerable number of his subordinates and hundreds of the common rebels were beheaded or hanged.

Philip thought it safe now to come to England, and to meet his bride, eleven years older than he. Her years, and her stern, gloomy glance made him dislike her from the first. He knew how to control himself, however, and, guided by the advice of Ruy Gomez, showed to the queen and, indeed, to every one, such friendliness and affability that he quickly won the love of Mary (Fig. 135), and the confidence of her



FIG. 135.—Medal with portrait of Queen Mary. Original size. (Berlin.)

people. He appeared so careful to keep aloof from all interference in English matters that Mary felt impelled to submit to him most affairs of importance, often even those of a private character. Under his influence the work of reaction went on with increased vigor.

As late as the spring of 1554 Parliament had refused to concede the two points which the queen considered essential: the restoration of the authority of the pope, and of the old laws against heretics. It was evident that the majority of the nation was far from agreeing with the queen on these two points.

It was Catholic, certainly, but it preferred its present very loose connection with Rome, and favored toleration ; yet, under the influence and the pressure of the Spanish court, the representatives of the higher classes in Parliament, on condition that the confiscated church estates should continue in the possession of their present owners, voted to acknowledge



FIG. 136. Seal of Philip II. of Spain and Queen Mary of England. (From the original in Berlin.)

anew the supremacy of the pope, and to restore the old statutes against heretics. And this was not a dead letter ; numerous victims perished at the stake in England and in Ireland.

Morally, we can hardly reproach Mary for these persecutions ; she

believed it to be her right and duty to extirpate heresies and save from corruption the people entrusted to her. As to the wisdom of her policy, that is another question. She certainly did choose to ignore the will of the majority of her subjects and to outrage their feelings, and if Protestantism soon afterward obtained a decisive and permanent vic-



FIG. 137.—Counter-seal of Philip II. of Spain and Queen Mary of England. (From the original in Berlin.)

tory in Britain, it was owing above all to the horror and repulsion caused by her bloody persecutions.

For the time being, however, Catholicism had triumphed in England, and the plans of Mary, Philip, and the pope seemed sure of success,

especially as Mary hoped soon to give birth to a son. But their days of rejoicing were brief, and Mary soon changed her hope to despair. Her supposed pregnancy proved to be nothing but dropsy. Still, she clung tenaciously to the hope that she might yet be a mother. Philip, however, was not deceived, and foresaw the speedy death of his English wife and the shattering of all his English hopes. In spite of all Mary's endeavors to detain him, he set sail for the Netherlands in August, 1555, leaving a country the customs of which were irksome to him, and a wife he had never loved (Figs. 136, 137).

Mary's life henceforth was sad enough. She pined for her absent husband, whose coldness and indifference were not diminished by the distance between them. Public opinion was daily turning more sharply and bitterly against the persecutions of Bloody Mary, as the people called her. Maddened by the faithlessness of her husband, the queen sought comfort in the arms of fanatical bigotry. She determined to restore to the church the estates confiscated by the crown in her father's reign. Naturally, this met with opposition, for it was claimed that crown lands belong not to the king, but to the realm; and, besides, this restoration would lead to that of the church-lands now in the possession of private owners. The queen, however, had her way, a small majority supporting her measure; but this success was more than offset by the growing discontent in Parliament and all over England. To make matters worse, the harvests were poor, famine and pestilence visited the land, so that, we are told, within two years one-third of the population perished. The queen went on adding burden to burden on the impoverished people, raising money for a war in which England had no interest and which brought it only loss. The capture of Calais by the French was a severe blow to the national pride. Many persons who, from fear or loyalty, had attended the Catholic churches now kept away. The queen no longer found obedience among her officials. At length she died, November 16, 1558, embittered and disappointed, her work a failure; for the Counter-reformation in England ended with her, and she can scarcely have failed to recognize the fact.

Her sister Elizabeth succeeded her. The character of this singular woman is largely explained by the conditions of her troubled and agitated youth: her harshness and keenness, her wonderful foresight, her religious tolerance, and her broad independent views. Born September 7, 1533, she lost, in her third year, her mother, Anne Boleyn, by an ignominious death, and her father kept her in poverty and humiliation as illegitimate. Catharine Parr, Henry's last wife, became her protector and had her carefully educated. The young princess then conceived a warm



FIG. 138.—Elizabeth of England as a girl. Painting by Francis Porbus the elder (1540-1580). (Amsterdam.)

affection for Thomas Seymour, whose sad fate she came near sharing, as involved in his conspiracy. But she showed, even in her youth, such strength of character, and such keenness of understanding as to excite the astonishment of all. When, in spite of all her secret efforts to save

her suitor, the head of Seymour had fallen on the scaffold, she sought refuge and consolation in study. She became well versed in mathematics, Latin, and Greek, but never allowed her learning to interfere with the independence and naturalness of her judgment (Fig. 138).

Her brother Edward was fond of her, but her sister Mary disliked and despised her, as of illegitimate birth, as the daughter of her mother's rival, and as her probable successor to the throne; and, finally, she detested her as being a Protestant. She was arrested and taken to the Tower on the charge of abetting Wyatt's rebellion. Mary seemed not indisposed to shed her sister's blood, but nobles and people met the suggestion with such disfavor that she deemed it wise simply to keep her under strict guard in the castle at Woodstock. Philip's intercession led to her release from imprisonment, and, for a while, also from the constant vexations to which she was exposed, and from which the death of Mary alone permanently rescued her. But the hopes and love of the nation turned more and more fondly toward her.

The most pressing question she had to face at her accession was the religious one. Her strong sense of order and authority, and her dislike of theological disputations and of individual independence in the subject, inclined her rather toward Catholicism. She would gladly have retained the beautiful and impressive forms of its service, the united and close organization of its clergy. But submission to Rome and to Italian priests, the overthrowing of her father's work, and the surrender of national independence, she never would allow. Personal considerations, as well as political, prevented her. Henry VIII. had married her mother against the pope's will; the Catholic church had always held that the marriage was illegal and Elizabeth illegitimate, and it was in the name of the Catholic church that her sister, Mary, had threatened her with death. Her origin and her past alike made her adherence to this church impossible. Her people also would have prevented it. Romanism had become unpopular with the majority; and the younger generation, together with all that was most energetic, practical and patriotic in the land, eagerly and hopefully looked to Elizabeth to liberate England from Rome.

On the other hand, she had to treat Philip of Spain considerately, for he was then the only ally of England against the hostility of France and Scotland. Besides, the democratic character of Calvinism frightened Elizabeth, who, certainly not without reason, looked upon it as threatening to absolute monarchy.

These opposite and conflicting tendencies and motives explain the hesitating and prudent conduct of Elizabeth in regard to religious and

political questions. Yet we must acknowledge that she naturally preferred circuitous and intricate policy to decided and aggressive action. The wooing which Philip, with amazing ingenuousness, began immediately after Mary's death, she rejected after a short delay. But for years she toyed with the Spanish and papal courts, flattering them with a hope now of her conversion, now of her marrying some one of the Hapsburg archdukes. By such means she kept Spain and her own Catholic subjects quiet, and safely passed over the most dangerous years—the transition years—of her reign.

At heart Elizabeth (Fig. 139) was averse to marrying; she feared in



FIG. 139. Royal seal of Queen Elizabeth. One-half of the original size.

a husband to find a master, a thought quite intolerable to the proud Tudor. She was confirmed in this aversion by her sincere, nay passionate and faithful love for Robert Dudley, whom, soon after her accession to the throne, she raised to the peerage as Earl of Leicester.

Meanwhile, she carried through several decided but well-considered religious reforms. Her most important step was the restoration of the royal supremacy, by which the breach with Rome was made final and the English church was definitely subjected to the authority of the state. She declined the title of "Supreme Head of the Church" as unbecoming, especially for a woman, but she fully used the prerogatives of it. She had thus gone back to Henry's policy and principles. And

throughout her career she strove to keep a middle course as little removed as possible from that of her father. She did not wish to break wholly with the Catholics, but wished rather to make their coming over to the Anglican church as easy as possible. She would have preferred to forbid the marrying of priests; she dared not go quite so far, but she made their right to marry depend upon a special license, and she preferred to the higher positions in the church almost exclusively unmarried clergymen.

Even these measures, moderate as they were, could not be carried through without a sharp opposition on the part of the Catholic clergy. Out of fourteen bishops, thirteen refused to take the oath of supremacy; they were deprived of their office and safely but comfortably confined in the Tower. Two hundred more of the higher clergy bravely preferred to lose their incomes rather than to deny their convictions.

But the zealous Calvinists were no better pleased than the Catholics with these half-measures. The champions of pure doctrine, the "Puritans," as they were sneeringly called, found in the Anglican church too much of the "old papistical leaven," whilst the Catholics were bewailing the separation from Rome and the incoming of Lutheran heresies.

Elizabeth did not at first molest the Catholics. The severe penalties pronounced against the practice of the old worship were not executed. The queen respected the Catholics and, besides, feared their power, for they were very numerous and influential, and, as she wished by gentle means to win them to Anglicanism, she protected them against the intolerance of her newly-appointed prelates. Very different was her treatment of the Puritans. She urged the Anglican bishops to deal sharply with the more ardent of them; the orderly and more submissive of them were not to be annoyed. Thomas Cartwright, their learned and gifted leader, was driven from his professorship at the University of Cambridge, and deprived of his benefice; a like fate befell other professors and clergymen who inclined to Puritanism. The most ardent dissenters, if they gave too loud or violent expression to their views, were condemned to the stocks, and even to the loss of their ears or of their right hand.

Elizabeth's most trusted adviser, as well as most able and gifted minister, Sir William Cecil, inclined to pronounced Protestantism. Born in 1520, of a prominent Lincolnshire family, Cecil had early drawn general attention to himself by bold and clever essays on disputed points of doctrine. Called to important posts during Somerset's rule, he had resigned them during Mary's reign, but Elizabeth chose him again as secretary of state. But the two were not wholly agreed; Cecil wished to make of England the bulwark and champion of Protestantism; the queen, averse to all decided steps, preferred a policy of dissimulation.



IOANNES KNOXVS, SCOTVS.
Scottorum primum te Ecclesia, KNOXE. docentem
Audyt: auspicijs es tque reducta tuis.
Nam te caelestis pietas super omnia traxit.
Aique reformatæ Religionis amor. Cum priuill.

FIG. 140.—John Knox. Facsimile of an engraving by Hendrik Hondius the younger (1580–about 1644).

Cecil's bitterest enemy was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, youngest son of Northumberland, the unfortunate successor of Somerset. He had inspired Elizabeth with a real passion, of which he was little worthy,

being heartless, intriguing, destitute of the higher gifts of mind and character, and absolutely selfish. His personal beauty was his only recommendation. It was her love for this man that prevented Elizabeth from contracting a marriage with some of her princely suitors, though the interest of the realm seemed to demand it and her people loudly called for it. Leicester cherished the hope of himself becoming the husband of Elizabeth, and the sudden death of his wife, Amy Robsart, occurred under such circumstances as to raise strong suspicion of her having been murdered by the earl or his creatures. Leicester's hopes of marriage with the queen were wrecked on the unanimous opposition of the ministers and the nobles; Elizabeth, however, retained him as her favorite, and heaped upon him gifts and dignities of all kinds, as if to make amends for his disappointment.

Her relations to her cousin and heir, Mary Stuart of Scotland, now demanded her attention. After the death of King James V., the regency, during the minority of his daughter, Mary, who was born December 8, 1542, had been entrusted to her mother, Mary of Guise. It was at her request that French troops had aided her Scotch forces to drive out the English, and had taken the young heiress of the Scottish crown over to France, where she had been betrothed to the dauphin Francis. Under her regency, Catholicism gained renewed strength in Scotland; Knox (Fig. 140) and his adherents fled to Geneva, and many a heretic who too openly avowed his faith was burned at the stake.

But the pride and arrogance of the Catholic prelates offended alike burghers and nobles, and the latter, besides, lusted after the church estates. Knox was thus enabled, from his place of exile, to found in his native land a league, the famous "Covenant," destined to defend the pure Word of God, even unto death. At the head of this organization was placed no less a person than Mary's illegitimate brother, the bold and accomplished Lord James Stuart, later Earl of Murray.

The two parties, burghers and nobles on the one hand, regent and bishops on the other, soon came to blows. Knox and other Protestant preachers, recalled by the Covenanters, returned in May, 1559, and their fiery harangues lashed the populace on to the ransacking of cloisters and the destruction of all church paintings and images. In vain did the regent collect her forces to defend Catholic sanctuaries; the Calvinists were too strong for her, and Murray made his triumphant entry into Edinburgh. Still, the contest was far from decided. A second time the regent summoned her French auxiliaries, who at once occupied Leith, the strongly fortified port of Edinburgh. In their distress, the insurgents turned for aid to Elizabeth.

The English queen had strong reasons for regarding Mary Stuart as an enemy. The Scottish princess had declared Elizabeth's birth illegiti-



FIG. 141.—Mary, Queen of Scots. Painting by François Clouet, called Janet (died about 1570). (Original in the possession of Princess Czartorisky.)

mate, and claimed for herself and her husband the title of King and Queen of England, as well as of France and Scotland. This had naturally enough produced between the two princesses an irreconcilable

hate. Elizabeth felt that she must put an end to the influence of France in Scotland, and she readily entered into a compact with the insurgent Scottish nobles for the expulsion of the French. With the aid of English ships and English troops, the latter were soon driven out of all Scotland with the single exception of Leith. Soon afterward (June 10, 1560) the regent, Mary of Guise, died of dropsy.

Francis and Mary Stuart (Fig. 141) were too busy with French affairs to be able to oppose the Scottish revolution. Some weeks after the regent's death, their envoys met the Scotch lords and the ambassadors of Elizabeth, and signed the Treaty of Edinburgh, which put an end not only to French influence in Scotland, but, virtually, also to Mary Stuart's authority. Politically considered, this was the most important event of the Reformation in Scotland, for by putting an end to the close union which had for centuries bound France and Scotland together, it paved the way to the union of Scotland and England.

The triumph of Protestantism was complete. The Parliament assembled in Edinburgh (August, 1560), drew up a Calvinistic confession of faith, and forbade, under severe penalties, the celebration of Catholic worship. The convents were broken up, and after a shameful desecration and devastation of the buildings and their treasures, the estates pertaining to the convents were, against the protests of the Calvinistic clergy, divided by the nobles among themselves. Intolerance, violence, and selfishness were the prominent characteristics of the victory of the Reformation in Scotland.

These occurrences wounded to the quick, both in her princely and in her religious feelings, the young queen of Scotland, who had just lost her husband. She had been educated at the French court, where she had proved herself equal in wit and culture and charm to the artists and poets who thronged that court. It was, therefore, with reluctance that Mary left fair France, which had become for her a second and better country, to go to assume the government of Scotland—lawless, rude, and mainly Calvinistic Scotland (August, 1561). She showed, however, from the very first, great ability and undeniable moderation, as well as a fearless courage, that led her more than once to place herself at the head of her forces in their campaigns against the insurgents.

In war and in the council, she was active and vigorous. She sought in the chase and in festivities relaxation from the cares and labors of office. It was the question of her marriage that first cast a shadow over Mary's brilliant present and future. It concerned England no less than Scotland, as Mary was Elizabeth's heir, and the English queen had declared she did not mean to marry. The English government and the

Calvinistic party in Scotland were anxious that Mary should choose a husband among the Protestant lords of England or Scotland. Mary herself was incensed at this interference of the English in her private affairs, and for this perhaps yielded the more readily to the attraction she felt for her young Catholic cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. On July 29, 1565, against the express desire of Elizabeth, of the Scotch Protestants, and of the Guises, the marriage took place—an ill-fated match. Darnley was proclaimed king of Scotland. A Protestant uprising, headed by Murray and supported by Elizabeth, was suppressed, and the earl and his adherents forced to seek refuge in England. Philip II. of Spain, the only European monarch who had from the first favored Mary's marrying Darnley, entered into closer alliance with the Scottish queen.

Mary then set herself to work to bring about the restoration of Catholicism in England. An agent of the pope and the Guises, the Piedmontese, David Rizzio, won her entire confidence, became secretary of state, and entertained on her behalf the closest relations with the Roman court and the courts of France and Spain. Proud of her recent successes in Scotland, she hoped with their aid not only to overthrow Protestantism within her realm, but also to prevail upon the English Catholics to rise and restore the unity of Great Britain in her favor and in the interests of Rome. Ireland was already up in arms against Elizabeth, and there were traitors in the immediate court circle of the English queen. Thus in Mary and Elizabeth were embodied two great antagonistic principles—but in an unequal contest, for Elizabeth had greater power and far superior diplomacy.

In Mary's own household, sharp dissensions existed. Darnley, a conceited, incapable, grossly licentious youth, could not long retain the respect and affection of his wife. He attributed the loss of them to the machinations of her favorite secretary, Rizzio, and determined to put him out of the way. To do this, he went over to the Protestant opposition and promised to entrust them with the control of affairs. Elizabeth was fully informed of the plot. Under the guidance of Darnley, who lent them the sanction of his authority, the conspirators fell upon Rizzio in the apartment of the queen, now six months pregnant, and stabbed him before her very eyes. The queen was kept in custody in Edinburgh Castle, and the exiled Protestant nobles hastened to return.

But Mary showed herself in this emergency as crafty as energetic. She soon succeeded in getting the wretched Darnley back to her side. With his assistance she escaped from her prison, summoned the Catholic nobles to her aid, prevailed upon Murray and a few of his chief adherents to lay down their arms, and drove the rest in hurried flight back

to England. She entered her capital for the second time as conqueror, and a few weeks later (June 19, 1566) gave birth to a son, the future heir of the thrones of Scotland and of England.

She did not abuse her victory, but resumed her earlier neutrality, and became more friendly toward Elizabeth. But for her husband she entertained now the profound contempt and dislike which his vile character and base conduct deserved, and began to hint at a divorce. Her devoted adherent, James, Earl of Bothwell, and a number of other Protestant nobles pledged themselves at Craigmillar to a common defence against Darnley, even if it should necessitate his murder. Mary does not seem to have formally joined the plot, but the conspirators had let her understand that they meant somehow to rid her of her husband.

Bothwell was at this time about thirty years old, of commanding stature, and of a bold, venturesome spirit. These gifts had made a strong impression upon the young queen, and his devoted attachment to her in all her fortunes had touched her susceptible heart. Bothwell knew this well, and built on it the plan of taking Darnley's place as Mary's husband and Scotland's king. Not that he really loved Mary, for he was sincerely fond of his own wife, but he wished by her means to rise to supreme power.

In the beginning of the year 1567 Mary became reconciled with Darnley, dispelled his fears of her vengeance and that of the nobles, and brought him back with her to Edinburgh. She has been accused of having purposely and treacherously lured him to his destruction. It is more probable that she honestly sought to win him back from fear of the threats of the Lennoxes, the powerful family to which Darnley belonged. Whatever may be the truth of this, on the evening of February 9, 1567, just as the queen had left her husband to attend the wedding of one of her court ladies, Darnley was assailed in his residence, somewhat remote from the rest of the city, murdered, and his house blown up, as if there had been an accident.

Mary kept up friendly relations with the murderers and with Bothwell, their avowed chief. How differently would she have dealt with them had she looked upon them as really her enemies! But warnings and mutterings from all sources, even from her friends, grew so numerous and urgent that she saw she must do something to quiet the public excitement, and for form's sake, she caused Bothwell to be tried before an extraordinary commission, but under conditions that made conviction impossible.

What followed has never been satisfactorily explained. Bothwell's fellow-conspirators, nearly all members of the higher nobility, signed

in Ainslie's tavern a document in which they recommended the queen to marry the earl. Bothwell, on the flimsiest grounds, obtained a divorce from his wife, seized the queen as she rode to Linlithgow, and on May 15, 1567, married her. Mary claimed that the marriage was forced upon her, a claim that it is hard to admit; it seems more probable that by this shameful union the Protestant nobles wished to rid themselves of the Catholic queen, and that Mary herself was blinded by an ardent passion for Darnley's murderer. Even her friends admit this.

This marriage was the catastrophe of Mary's career. Bothwell, made Duke of Orkney, and entrusted with the administration of the realm, soon showed how little he cared for the queen. He ill-treated her, kept her aloof from all company, and frequently visited his former wife. Mary, knowing herself forsaken and hated by all, fell into despair, and attempted suicide. Her remorse came too late. The same nobles who had urged her marriage to Bothwell now rose up in arms against her. Her forces refused to fight, and whilst Bothwell escaped to end his days in Norway after long years of captivity, she surrendered to the insurgents, by whom she was imprisoned in Lochleven Castle (June, 1567). The victorious lords forced her to abdicate in favor of her son, James VI., then scarcely one year old. Murray assumed the regency in the name of his nephew. He ruled prudently and vigorously, restored peace, and re-established Protestantism as the religion of the state.

The Church of Scotland, the Kirk as it is called, was now permanently organized. In it the minister is elected by the people or parish, who also appoint elders or presbyters to administer with him the affairs of the church. Ten superintendents, with strictly defined powers, are entrusted with the oversight of the churches. Each of the superintendencies, with its ministers and elders, constitutes a provincial synod, and at stated intervals a general assembly of all the clergy and churches is held. This constitution attempts very skilfully to assign a fair measure of local independence to the congregation, and a large measure of influence to the clergy. Soon, however, the power passed almost wholly into the hands of the latter, a body of able, earnest, and somewhat imperious men, whose authority thus became well-nigh despotic. The spirit of Calvinism embodied itself most completely and lastingly in the institutions of the Scottish Kirk.

All this system was once more imperiled. Mary's grace and beauty won the devoted love of one of her custodians, by whose help she escaped in the month of May, 1568. She soon had numerous adherents about her. But Murray defeated her forces at Langside, and as she feared to

entrust herself once more to the unreliable Scots, she preferred to turn to Elizabeth, who had repeatedly, and quite lately, promised her assistance. On May 16 she landed from a fishing-boat, on English land, near Carlisle.

How greatly she was disappointed in her expectations! Elizabeth's privy council beset their queen with objections and warnings against her aiding the fugitive. It was just at the time when, on the continent, Catholicism under Alva and Henry of Anjou was winning victory after victory from the Calvinists. Was England to proffer troops to Mary to re-establish Catholic sway in Scotland, thence possibly to carry war into England herself? The matter was not to be thought of. It was scarcely less dangerous to allow Mary to escape to France, for that would lead to a restoration of French influence over Scotland; nor could she be allowed to remain free in England, as the large and powerful Catholic party would certainly gather about her and threaten the Protestant cause in England. It was decided to retain Mary in custody, a decision politic, it may be, but certainly not honorable. To justify herself before her contemporaries and posterity, Elizabeth resorted to most dishonest and tortuous methods. She even went so far as to use forged documents to incriminate Mary in the murder of her husband. She also used, and successfully, all possible means to prevent the reconciliation of Mary and Murray. The Scottish queen's urgent and reiterated request to be allowed to depart freely as she had come, was constantly denied.

But this shameful ill-treatment of a young and beautiful queen, who, in all her misfortunes, preserved a firm and moderate demeanor, excited indignation against Elizabeth, and won for Mary numerous sympathizers, especially among the Catholic nobles of the North of England. At their head was Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, by birth and fortune the foremost nobleman of the realm, who hoped to become Mary's fourth husband and king of Scotland, possibly of England. Everything was ready for a great uprising (1569). But Norfolk's selfish, over-prudent hesitancy ruined the plot. Elizabeth's bloody punishment of the plotters may well be considered as her declaration of war against the Catholics, with whom she had so far tried to remain at peace. Pius V. issued a bull of excommunication against the "English Jezebel," in which he urged her subjects to rise against her. Elizabeth replied by forbidding all intercourse with Rome, and resorting to stern measures against all Catholics. Embittered by these persecutions, the Catholics became more and more hostile to the rule and even to the person of their monarch. The malcontents found a convenient and ready head in Mary, who

became unwearied in her efforts to procure her own release, and to find means of punishing Elizabeth for her treachery towards her. She renewed her relations with Norfolk, with the pope, and with Spain. But vigilant Cecil, whom Elizabeth had recently raised to the peerage as Lord Burleigh, discovered this new plot also, and Norfolk expiated his treason with his death (1572). On Philip the English queen took vengeance, by giving aid to the Netherlanders, and made their revolt successful.

Pope Gregory XIII. was, meanwhile, stirring up the Irish to rebellion against their English masters. Ireland had not been won to Protestantism, in spite of the efforts of Edward VI., and the accession of Mary Tudor confirmed the people of the island in their adherence to the old path. In the small part of the island which was directly under English rule, "the English Pale," ill-paid garrisons lived as in a hostile country; in the rest of Ireland, where English rule was purely nominal, a condition of things existed worse than that of Continental Europe in the Dark Ages. Among the innumerable petty princes and their beggarly followers, constant quarrels arose. The stronger plundered the weaker; murders were of daily occurrence, and constant rebellions took place. In the north and west, Shan O'Neil had for six years defied the authority of Elizabeth, and it was only discord among his followers that caused his defeat. His conqueror, Sir Henry Sidney, had tried to cure Ireland's troubles. He forbade the chieftains to exact tribute from townsmen; commerce and industry began to revive, especially in seaports; and agriculture began again to thrive, since Sidney protected the peasants against robbery and murder.

But this was just what all the thievish Irish leaders, in their stone towers with their hungry rabble of retainers, did not want; it made them detest their English rulers, whom they looked upon, besides, as heretics. Formerly the Irishman had been an indifferent Catholic, retaining some strange national customs in his worship; now he became a fanatical papist. National hate produced religious hate, and in its turn was strengthened by it. On the other hand, the English considered all things allowable in dealing with the Irish, whom they looked upon as a sort of wild beasts to which no quarter must be given.

Between two such hostile peoples there could not be lasting peace. With the queen's sanction a number of English noblemen undertook to colonize Ireland on a large scale, without paying anything, it is needless to say, for the lands they were to occupy, and with permission to slay any natives who should object to their occupancy (1569). This naturally enough produced a rebellion, which was soon made worse by Pope

Gregory XIII., who sent the Irish eight hundred soldiers and some experienced officers to organize and command the natives, and a legate to kindle and keep up their religious zeal. This great rebellion lasted four years and was ended only after the blood of hundreds of thousands of the natives had been shed, and the whole of Southern Ireland turned into a wilderness (1583). These horrors have left in the hearts of the Irish a leaven of hate that centuries have not succeeded in removing.

Beaten in Ireland, the Roman Curia determined to carry the conflict into England itself. At the suggestion of one Allen, an intriguing priest of Lancashire, English seminaries were founded first at Douai, then at Rheims, finally also at Rome, whose graduates were to carry to England not only their religious faith, but also a spirit of rebellion against English institutions, and especially against the rule of Elizabeth. The queen saw herself constrained to change her methods, and, laying aside her former tolerance, to initiate a rule of severe repressive measures against the Catholics. But even now she carefully distinguished between "such as entertained evil-minded and treacherous designs against her majesty and against the state, and those whose simplicity had been led astray by ignorant and blind zeal." The latter escaped with milder punishment, generally being banished; but convicted traitors, including the seminary priests, were executed. During Elizabeth's reign two hundred Catholics suffered this extreme penalty, a moderate number as compared with the victims of Philip II. or Mary Tudor. The reading of mass was punished by a fine of 500 pounds and one year's imprisonment; non-attendance at the Anglican worship by a fine of 20 pounds per month. This is what the fanaticism of the pope and the blind zeal of the papists resulted in. Needless to say that Elizabeth was an object of wrath and hatred all over the Catholic world.

Defeated in Ireland and England, the partisans of the old faith again turned to Scotland.

James VI., when thirteen years of age, assumed the reins of government, thus putting an end to the regency of the Earl of Morton, a stern and bigoted Protestant partisan. The young king now placed himself wholly under the guidance of a cultivated Catholic courtier, Esmé Stuart, lord of Aubigny. This nobleman, brought up in France at the court of Catharine de' Medici, pretended to have been converted to Protestantism by his young sovereign; but this was evidently a falsehood perpetrated to secure a high position and to ingratiate himself with a ruler, who, even in his boyhood, liked to discuss theological questions. Aubigny was made Earl of Lennox. And yet he was simply an agent of the Guises and of the pope, to draw Scotland into the great

Catholic League against England and thus to secure the triumph of Catholicism.



FIG. 112. Mary, Queen of Scots, in widow's weeds. Painting from the school of François Clouet, called Janet (died about 1570). Hertford House. (From a photograph.)

In 1581, he succeeded in getting rid of his most formidable opponent, by having Morton executed for his participation in the assassination of

Darnley. He soon afterward succeeded in effecting an arrangement between Mary and her son, by which the former acknowledged the latter as co-regent. English seminary priests, Scotch Jesuits, and the Spanish envoys, were the secret agents of this agreement, which contemplated also the raising of an army in Scotland, which, under the command of Henry of Guise, was to invade England from the north. Mary (Fig. 142) was thoroughly acquainted with the plan and accepted it, though, as she remarked, her life and her son's throne were at stake.

But in all these plottings Aubigny had as an antagonist the most unscrupulous member of the party in power at Elizabeth's court, Sir Francis Walsingham. Distinguished for his scientific acquirements no less than his practical ability and shrewdness, he devoted his every breath to the defence of the interests of England and Protestantism. For him as for his enemies, all means were fair; without hesitancy he used spies, bribery, lies, and carefully feigned conspiracies, to follow the tracks of the enemy and destroy him. But in his private life he was blameless; far from growing rich with public gold, like innumerable statesmen of his day, he spent all his private substance in the service of his queen. He it was who opened her eyes to the growing dangers.

Meanwhile, Mary had spent fourteen weary and troublous years in captivity. Dragged from one prison to another, she had always shown a characteristic firmness and dignity of character that excited the admiration of all who came in contact with her, even among her enemies. She never despaired; she secretly maintained her communications with the outer world, all bearing on her own deliverance and the downfall of her hated enemy; charming her jailors, meanwhile, by her grace and delightful conversation. By apparent submission to Elizabeth's will, she at length obtained a mitigation of her captivity, which lasted until Walsingham revealed to the English queen the danger that threatened her. Then Elizabeth acted with her wonted skill. By a preconceived plan the Calvinistic Scotch lords seized James VI. while he was indulging in his favorite amusement of the chase on the estates of the Earl of Gowrie, and carried him to the fortress of Stirling (1582). The well-arranged Catholic plot was for the time completely thwarted. Lennox had to flee from Scotland, and escaped to France, where he soon afterward died.

But the bold course of Elizabeth had simply postponed and not destroyed the plans of the Catholic League, and it was Mary who gathered the threads together again. In July, 1583, James escaped from his Presbyterian custodians, and gathered around himself a force of Catholic lords and their retainers, all devoted to his mother. He applied to the Guises for counsel, wrote a letter to the pope, in which he assured "His

Holiness" of his entire devotion, asked the aid of Rome and her friends for himself and for Scotland. In England the Catholics were ready to rise at a moment's notice, and Guise was expected at the head of an army of French and Spanish soldiers, brought over in a Spanish fleet.

What saved England and Protestantism in this hour of supreme peril was the distrust and hesitancy of Philip, which gave Walsingham time to unearth the plot. The chief agent of communication between Mary Stuart and Don Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in London, Francis Throgmorton, was arrested, and important papers were found on his person. Torture extracted from him a confession of the plot. A terrible persecution began against all suspected persons, especially Catholics. Mendoza was given two weeks in which to leave, and all diplomatic relations between England and Spain were broken.

The discovery of these and other plots, in which Mary Stuart was largely implicated, intensely stirred up the English people, and called forth a great loyal Protestant and patriotic movement. Thousands bound themselves by a solemn oath to spend their fortunes and their lives, if need be, in defence of their queen, and should she be slain, in the prosecution of her murderers. Parliament declared Mary and her progeny forfeit of all right to the English throne in case Elizabeth were to die a violent death.

Mary was remanded to the deadly dungeons of Tutbury. The Protestant Scotch noblemen flocked back to their country, and, with the aid of England, soon brought James to terms. The mercenaries of the Guises were forced to sail back to France (1585), and with them departed all Catholic hopes of a successful revolt. James concluded, in April, 1586, a defensive alliance with Elizabeth.

Sure of safety at home, the latter could at last venture to attack her foreign foes, particularly Spain. She sent her favorite, Leicester, with a considerable force to aid the revolted Netherlanders (1585); at the same time, the most reckless and most unscrupulous of English seamen, Sir Francis Drake, sailed with a strong fleet to the West Indies, took and burned San Domingo and Cartagena, and inflicted immense losses on the Spaniards. War between England and Spain became inevitable.

If we base our judgment of Elizabeth solely on external appearances, the verdict must be quite unfavorable to her character and to her capacities. She was unreliable and vacillating to a degree that often drove her ministers to despair; she did not hesitate to act in direct opposition to their most solemn assurances, to contradict them flatly, and often to forsake them. Add to this her avarice, and ill-judged and ill-timed economy, which led her to allow some of her most faithful serv-

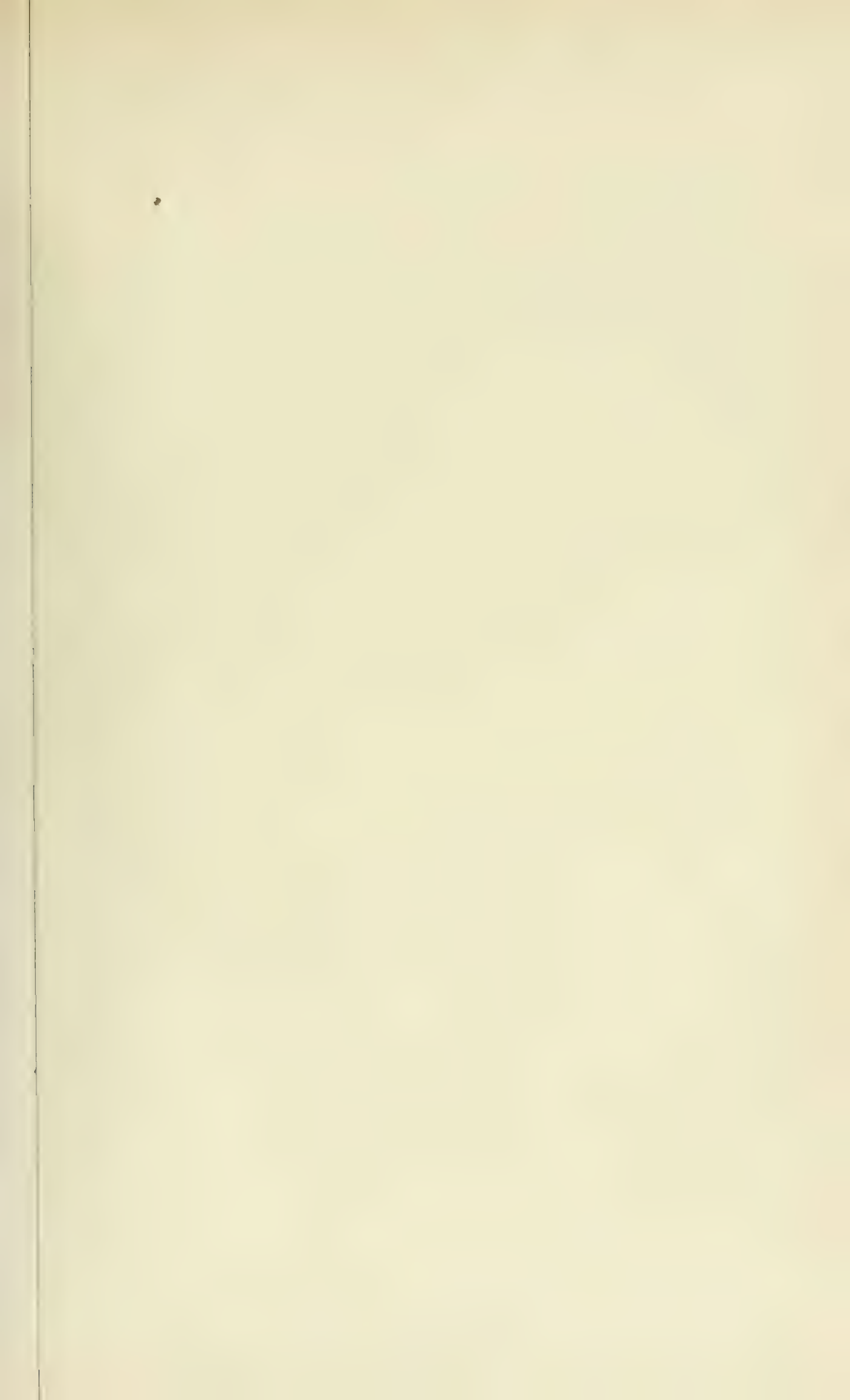
ants to ruin themselves in her service, and, worse still, to wreck, or at least seriously endanger, most important enterprises rather than untie her purse strings. Her personal vanity was boundless, and she had an absurdly exaggerated idea of her beauty. At the age of sixty-three she dressed as a young girl. All who would win her favor must adore her as the sum of all perfections, must celebrate her charms, place her far above the most celebrated beauties of the day, and act as if they were desperately in love with her.

Notwithstanding all these littlenesses, this queen (Fig. 143) really

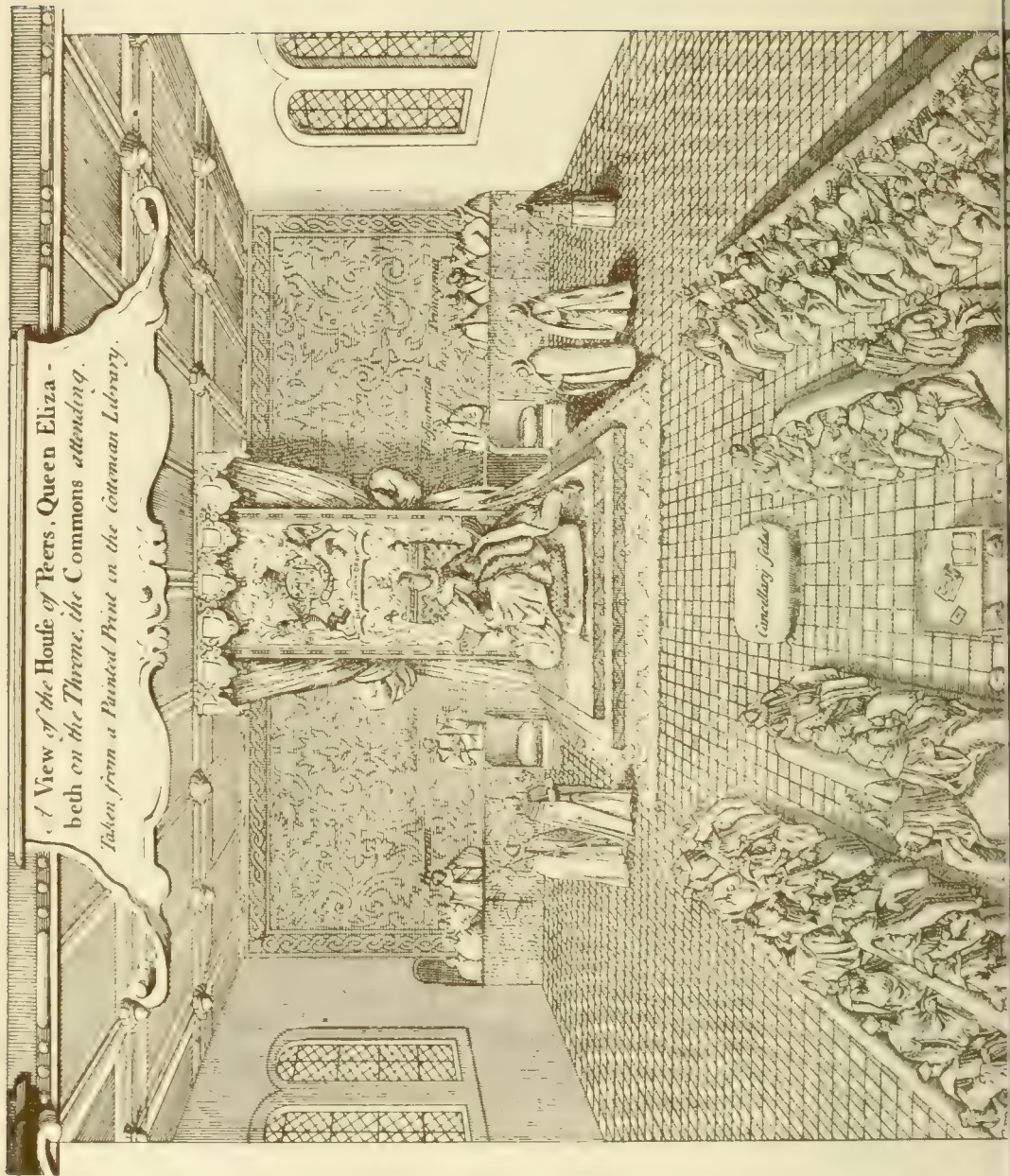
FIG. 143.—Autograph signature of Queen Elizabeth. Facsimile of a signature in a letter, dated St. James, April 21, 1593, to the Elector John George of Brandenburg. (Berlin, Royal Privy Archives.)

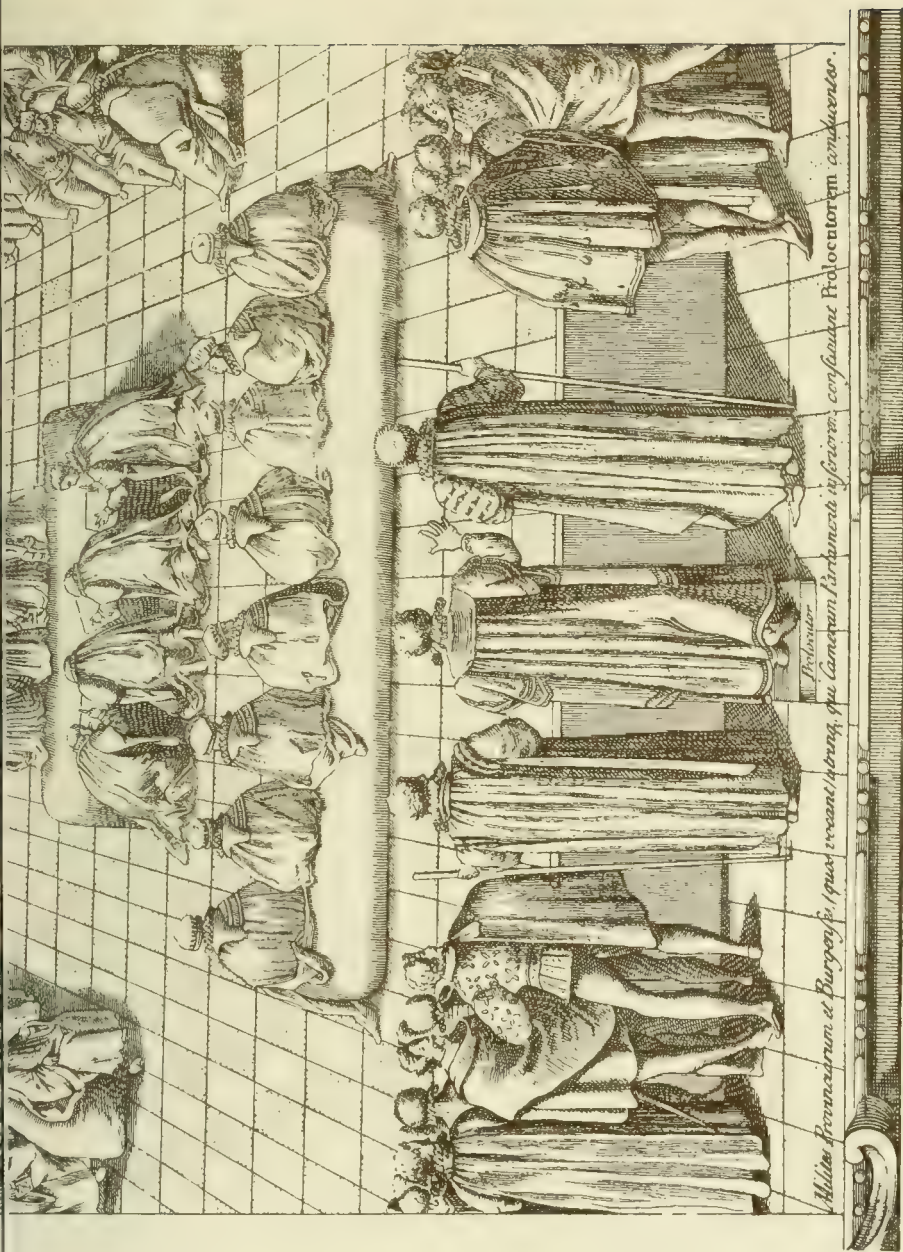
accomplished great things. She it was that secured Protestantism the victory in England, and enabled it to make a stand on the Continent. She gave her country a new period of internal welfare and strength and laid the foundations of her external power. Her subjects loved her; her bright and telling sayings were repeated all over the realm; she was accessible to the least of her subjects; she could ride, shoot, crack jokes, and drink beer with any stout yeoman in merry England. And yet her demeanor remained haughty and royal, inspiring respect and even fear.

But other and greater qualities distinguished her and entitled her to the love and veneration of her subjects. Her hesitating, uncertain, insincere policy resulted largely from her love of peace, a feeling which her people shared with her. After the fruitless laurels of the Hundred Years' War with France and the awful butcheries of the Wars of the Roses, England longed for peace without and quiet within, to restore and develop the national prosperity. The nation, under the just and



*A View of the House of Peers, Queen Elizabeth on the Throne, the Commons attending.
Taken from a Painted Print in the Cottonian Library.*





The Knights of Shires & Burgesses (as they call them) which constitute & lower house of Parliament presenting their Speaker.

The House of Lords in session : Queen Elizabeth on the Throne.

Facsimile of an anonymous engraving in the British Museum.

firm rule of the queen, enjoyed a life of order and contentment. The lower classes, heretofore so oppressed, found remunerative occupation in commerce, in colonization, and in freebooting expeditions on the wide seas. Elizabeth was far more of a patriotic Englishwoman than of a Protestant propagandist. While really governing her people, she yet was constantly attentive to their opinions and their wishes. She meant to be and was the foremost of the nation, but never separate from the nation. In religious, as in political matters, she was determined not to go beyond her people's desire; she would avoid a repetition of the bloody reactions she had witnessed under Somerset and Mary Tudor. This resolve explains much of the hesitating and groping character of her policy.

In her dealings with Parliament (PLATE XIX.) she showed the same mingling of imperiousness and submissiveness. As a whole, and in great matters above all, she wished, it cannot be doubted, to be as independent as possible of its control; this explains in good measure her economy: she was not willing to resort to the Commons as a suppliant for money. She not infrequently put her will above the rights of Parliament, but no less carefully than her father she avoided carrying matters to the point of a conflict, and she knew perfectly how to distinguish the reasonable popular demands from the sudden whim of a majority in the Lower House. Twice, under her reign, did the Commons insist seriously in having their own way, and twice did Elizabeth openly and loyally yield to them. Foreign ambassadors wondered, and not without reason, at the great and constant influence of Parliament over the crown.

In Parliament, as in the country at large, Protestantism was constantly gaining ground, and an element was slowly developing that was highly unwelcome to Elizabeth—Puritanism, the party of the adherents of the pure or unmingled Calvinistic doctrine. Puritanism, with its strict submission to the awful decrees of God and its stubborn opposition to all human authority, was to become a formidable danger to Elizabeth's successors; but it saw too clearly in the queen an indispensable ally against "popish idolatry" not to remain true to her.

Protestantism was especially strong in the middle class, which at this very time was rapidly growing in numbers, importance, and wealth, to the great envy of the nobles. A thorough change in the social condition of the country was steadily going on. The clergy, deprived of most of their wealth, found themselves in a state of humiliating dependence upon the crown. The nobility, heavily burdened with debts largely caused by their extravagance, saw many of their possessions fall into the hands of creditors belonging to the mercantile class, then enjoying almost unparal-

leled prosperity. A new life, a bold spirit of adventure had seized English merchants and seamen. Especially prominent was the Company of Merchant Adventurers, founded as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, but just now at the height of its fortunes. It was the Merchant Adventurers who, under the leadership of Sebastian Cabot, sent their vessels to the far East, sailed the Baltic, kept factors at Novgorod. Richard Chancellor reached the Dwina in 1564, and the Muscovy Trading Company was founded; obtaining from the Grand Duke of Moscow exemption from duty and safe conduct, it carried English goods—mostly cloth—as far as the Caspian Sea and Persia. A Turkish Company for trade in the Levant, and a Barbary Company were also formed. Noble seamen, like Frobisher, went in search of a northwest passage to the Pacific, and more than one of them found death instead. English commerce increased rapidly. In the year 1585, Drake introduced tobacco into England; the use of the weed soon became so general that cities counted as many tobacco shops as wine and beer shops.

One of the principal sources of wealth for English seamen was freebooting—or piracy, it might better be called. Noblemen like Lord Cobham did not deem it beneath them to equip vessels to rob impartially on the high seas those of all other nations. Elizabeth issued, for form's sake, many decrees against the practice, but never made any serious endeavor to repress it. She thought her subjects needed the wealth, experience, and naval training it gave them. Nay, more than once she shared in the cost of equipping freebooting vessels, and, needless to say, claimed her proportionate share of the profits.

The more peaceful pursuits also flourished. From Holland, Flanders, and Brabant, Protestants fleeing from Spanish persecution came to England, where they settled and taught the natives how to weave woolen and linen cloth, how to work gold and silver, how to make lace. The aspect of England underwent a change. No longer was it the hunting, carousing, ignorant squire that led the nation, but the enterprising merchant, the thrifty goldsmith, the shrewd and far-traveled sea-captain. The queen herself recognized the importance and significance of the industrious classes by opening in person, in the year 1571, the Royal Exchange.

It is to the middle class that England owes her greatness, her world-controlling commerce and industries, and her liberties. This class remained loyal to Elizabeth, while the nobility entered into innumerable plots against her.

In spite of their absolutism in government, the Tudors, and Henry VIII. and Elizabeth especially, largely contributed to the political influence of the middle class. The support of the poor, which had previously

been left exclusively to the monasteries, was now assigned to the parishes, and in such a way that not the large landowners alone, but the farmers and tenants also, shared the burden. With these new duties came new rights and privileges in the administration of the church and poor rates.

On the vantage-ground of this new vigorous social system and this enlarged form of self-government grew up the opposition to what was absolute and anti-national in the rule of Elizabeth's successors. Self-government and Puritanism are the two elements out of which English freedom was formed.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE END OF PHILIP II.

WITH the beginning of the ninth decade of the sixteenth century, the Spanish power everywhere put on new strength. While Alessandro Farnese was constantly gaining ground in the Netherlands, his master was adding a new world to his already gigantic empire.

The great discoveries and glorious conquests of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, and in the first years of the sixteenth, had extended the power of this little kingdom over three continents. From Lisbon, eastward to the Portuguese settlements in Japan, was a distance of eight thousand nautical miles, and in the far West the vast empire of Brazil was looked upon as a Portuguese possession. For years Lisbon had been the centre of the trade in Asiatic silks and spices, in American woods, in ivory, in sugar, and was also the headquarters of the African slave-trade. It was exceedingly unfortunate that the young king, Sebastian, who had assumed the crown in 1557, was both over-venturesome in his ambitions, and fanatical in his devotions. This disposition led him into a crusade against the Moors of Morocco, in which he, together with the flower of the Portuguese nation, found a bloody death in the terrible battle of Alcazarquivir, near Tangiers, August 4, 1578. His successor died after a short reign of seventeen months, without leaving any direct heirs. The question of the succession was exceedingly complicated. The claimants were Antonio, Prior of Crato, son of Emanuel the Great's second son, Louis, but supposed to be illegitimate; the Duchess of Braganza, daughter of Emanuel's youngest son; and Philip II. of Spain, son of Emanuel's eldest daughter. The sympathies of the people were with the candidate who promised to maintain inviolate their national independence, Prior Antonio. But Philip relied on his power and on the numerous adherents that his gold had won him among the Portuguese nobles. Alva was once more recalled from exile, and placed in command of a Spanish army of invasion. The Portuguese force that opposed him was badly routed, and many of the nobles went over to the invaders. In the autumn of 1580, Antonio, who had shown little vigor and ability, fled to England, and Portugal became a Spanish province.

Philip was now master of the whole peninsula ; after eight hundred and seventy years of division, all Iberia was again under one control. The East Indies and the West Indies were his ; Asia and America seemed the permanent possession of Spain. The ocean ways were hers. It is no wonder that all attempts of Antonio to recover Portugal were failures, though both the English and the French gave him assistance.

The conquest of Portugal was Alva's last exploit ; two years later, December, 1582, he died in the palace of Lisbon. Since his return from the Netherlands he had not enjoyed the favor of his king.

Naturally, France looked upon these successes of Spain with some anxiety, and looked out for her safety. In December, 1580, Henry III. made a treaty with the Huguenots that at last put an end to the destructive civil war. He authorized his brother, Francis of Anjou, to make himself master of Cambrai, and to invade the Netherlands at the head of a force of 17,000 volunteers and mercenaries. But all the hopes centred on Anjou were doomed to bitter disappointment. He did nothing to check the steady progress of Farnese, and seemed wholly bent upon strengthening his personal authority. Such conduct could only increase the distrust that the Protestant Netherlanders felt toward him as a foreigner and a Catholic ; how well justified these feelings were was soon proved by Anjou's conduct.

He tried to play the part of a champion of popular liberty, which, as a French nobleman and prince, he really secretly despised. In spite of repeated and solemn pledges to respect the privileges of the land, he determined to make himself absolute sovereign over it, and ordered that on a certain day all places in which French troops were garrisoned should be seized. Special measures were taken to secure possession of Antwerp, where Orange was then residing. On January 17, 1583, a few thousand Frenchmen suddenly entered the unsuspecting city, and began to murder and plunder, Anjou waiting outside for the issue. But the burghers quickly gathered together, fell upon the treacherous invaders, shut them up in the narrow streets, and almost annihilated them. This shameful attempt of the French prince—the "French Fury," as it was called—put an end to his rule in the Netherlands. The population everywhere rose against him, and things would have gone hard with him had not Orange interposed in his behalf. This prudent and patriotic chief, seeing the danger of turning France into a foe of the Netherlands, secured an agreement by which the duke surrendered to the States-General the towns in his possession and a part of his troops, obtaining as a return the delivery of all French men captured in Antwerp. The Northern

Netherlands thus escaped exchanging Spanish for French rule (March, 1583).

For a while the king of Spain was the only one to profit by Anjou's foolish venture. Discord raged more fiercely than ever among his opponents. The Catholic majority in the middle and eastern provinces would not hear of Protestant Orange for their chief, and threatened to follow the example of the Walloons, and go over to the Spaniards. William of Orange was not a good general, and Farnese found little difficulty in rendering himself master of Western Flanders, with the greater part of the sea-coast and Ypres and Bruges. And when on July 10, 1584, after five unsuccessful attempts upon his life, William of Orange was at last assassinated by Balthazar Gérard, a fanatic from Franche-Comté, Philip must indeed have felt confident that the hour of the complete subjection of the Netherlands had at last struck.

It may be a question whether William the Silent was fitted to be the successful defender of the liberties of the Netherlands; but there can be no doubt that he was the founder of these liberties. In a violent and unscrupulous age, Orange, although by no means exempt from interested motives, nevertheless towers above his contemporaries by the nobility of his character, his patience, his magnanimity, and his sincere affection for his people. No wonder that the nation heard of his death with deepest sorrow, and that it has so tenderly preserved his memory down to our own time.

While Philip was conquering Portugal and seemed on the point of reconquering the Netherlands, he was obtaining in France also important advantages. During the disturbances of the civil war, the governors of provinces, commanders of garrisons, and many other local officers began to look upon their offices and positions as their own hereditary possessions, and to assume an attitude of defiant independence toward the central government. Henry III. had neither resolution nor strength enough to oppose successfully this powerful aristocracy, but he constantly irritated it by tyrannical acts in favor of his favorites, and excited its contempt by his weak, womanish character. The higher clergy hated the king for his leniency toward the Huguenots, and aimed at making themselves more and more independent of the crown. At the head of all these disaffected elements were the Guises, who hated Henry III. on account of his cold treatment of them, as well as for religious and political reasons. Zealous Catholics though they were, they meant to make the League subserve their private ends. Pamphlets were published putting forward the claims of the Guises to the French throne as descendants of Charlemagne.

Spain now came forward to chastise the Valois for their support of the insurgent Netherlanders, and from the year 1583 she kept agents in France about the persons of the Guises (Fig. 144). The whole situation was full of menace; an incident—not wholly unexpected—precipitated the storm. Henry III., once so vigorous, but now physically and morally exhausted, had no children from his invalid wife. After the death of Francis of Anjou on June 10, 1584, there was left but one branch of the Capetian dynasty—viz., the Bourbons—and the head of



FIG. 144.—Henry, Duke of Guise. Painting by François Clouet, called Janet, died about 1570).

this was Henry of Navarre, a relapsed heretic. All sincere Catholics were dismayed; even the more moderate among them could not brook the thought of a heretic upon the Most Christian throne. The more zealous and resolute among them determined to prevent it by force of arms if necessary. Philip II. saw in this condition of things a chance to secure a strong and permanent influence over France by opposing and defeating the claims of the Béarnese heretic. His envoy in Paris, Tassis, proposed to the Guises to form a league for the protection of the

Catholic faith. As the pope was in favor of it, they accepted the proposal (January, 1585). It was agreed that not Henry of Navarre, but the Cardinal of Bourbon, a weak old man, a mere puppet in the hands of the Guises, should be the Bourbon to succeed Henry III. Protestantism was to be rooted out, both in France and in the Netherlands. To promote these ends, Philip was to furnish his allies a yearly subsidy of one million crowns; as an offset, they pledged themselves to renounce the Turkish alliance and to hand over Cambrai and Navarre to the Spaniards. Philip, it is seen, prudently made his Catholic zeal subserve his personal interests, and the Guises, Lorrainers rather than Frenchmen, showed little regard for the honor and integrity of France. They even promised the Duke of Savoy, in return for his assistance, a considerable territory along the Rhone, including Lyons.

The Guises bade the League make ready for the struggle. This meant that not religious passions alone, but the insubordination of the higher nobility, and the unruliness of the city democracy also, were to make a combined attack upon the throne. The Jesuits bestirred themselves for the conflict, the Spaniards stood ready to lend a hand in hurling France into irretrievable confusion. The condition of the realm was gloomy enough.

Henry III. did not dare to risk the issue of the contest, and by the Edict of Nemours (July 7, 1585) he made his submission to the League. This edict approved of the measures and aims of the League, surrendered to it the strongest fortresses in Northern France, and conceded to it the right to levy troops. It granted all Protestants who did not choose to return to the old faith six months in which to depart from France.

The cause of the French Protestants seemed doomed, yet they did not lose heart. In Henry of Navarre they found a worthy leader. Long years of warfare and poverty had trained him in generalship, developed his mind, taught him the arts of diplomacy and the science of statesmanship. His wit, his good nature, his elasticity of will and temper, attached his adherents to him no less than their religious convictions or their love of war and adventure. The "Béarnese" went at once to work to organize his party. A large number of eminent men stood by him: his cousin, Henry of Condé, with his ardent Calvinism; the experienced general, the Viscount of Turenne, afterwards Duke of Bouillon; the heroic La Noue, the Bayard of Protestantism; Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, a writer as well as a fighter; and Duplessis-Mornay, at once a soldier, scholar, theologian, and statesman. They were a band of powerful and able men, an extraordinary proportion of whom were men of great distinction; the League had no such men to oppose them.

Pope Sixtus V. issued a bull of excommunication against Henry of Navarre and Henry of Condé, "those two sons of wrath." But this very interference of the pope in the question of the succession to the throne of France, turned many loyal Frenchmen against the League. The king, moreover, who feared the Leaguers, did as little as he could.

The struggle was not confined to France; as a contest between two great principles that divided the whole Western world, it soon spread over Europe. Elizabeth of England helped the Huguenots with money; the German and Swiss Protestants raised troops to assist them. No less



FIG. 145. The fire-ship "Fin de la Guerre." From a contemporary engraving by Francis Hogenberg. The people of Antwerp expected to cope with the Spanish fleet with this ship, but it was soon captured by the enemy.

eager were the Catholics in promoting their cause in France, especially their chief, the elderly and sickly prince, who, in the gloomy Escorial, brooded over dispatches and commands and contrived plans more and more gigantic. For, after having conquered Portugal and precipitated war and its miseries upon France, the Catholic Philip turned his attention to the most powerful land of heretics—England. To reduce it, he meant to make use of his armies in the Netherlands as soon as they were no longer needed there.

The hope that the death of William of Orange would bring the

insurgent provinces to Philip's feet had indeed proved futile ; still the Netherlands had now no leader at all competent to make headway against Farnese, who had conquered Ghent, Nimwegen, and Brussels, and in the summer of 1584 laid siege to the largest and wealthiest city of the Netherlands, Antwerp, which its citizens long defended valiantly under the command of heroic Philipp van Marnix Sainte-Aldegonde. In the midst of an inundation, brought on by the Antwerpers themselves, a decisive combat was fought on the Couvestein dyke ; it ended disastrously for the patriots, and Sainte-Aldegonde, despairing of relief, surrendered Antwerp after a defence of more than a year (August, 1585) (Fig. 145). The Catholic faith was at once proclaimed as the only lawful one, and heretics were given a short time in which to leave the town. This decree was the death-blow to Antwerp's prosperity. Its most enterprising and wealthy citizens removed to the seaports of Holland, especially to Amsterdam, to which English, North German, and a large share of the French trade followed them. The harbors, streets, and houses of Antwerp were gradually deserted, and the Schelde, once alive with thousands of vessels, now rolled its broad waters unvexed to the sea.

The cause of the Netherlands was rapidly growing desperate. William the Silent's eldest son, Philip, educated at the Spanish court, was wholly won to Catholicism and the Spanish policy ; the second, Maurice, was still a youth. No competent leader appeared anywhere, none, at least, that would be generally recognized. The States-General were, therefore, quite ready to welcome Leicester, Elizabeth's favorite, and the 6000 soldiers she sent with him (December, 1585). Leicester was greeted with enthusiasm, and at once elected stadtholder, as Orange had been before him. Unfortunately it soon appeared that his qualities were more showy than real. He offended the independent Netherlands by despotic forms and regulations, had frequent misunderstandings with the queen, and did nothing to check the victorious progress of Farnese. Leicester wearied of his position, and returned to England in November, 1586. His subordinates, with his approval, on his return, and with the queen's knowledge, plotted against the liberties of the still independent Provinces ; and, as a consequence, the most prominent member of the States-General, John of Olden-Barneveld (Fig. 146), declared himself opposed to all English interference. At this time he was forty years of age, of tall and stately figure, with large and powerful features ; he was a learned and independent jurist, holding the position of "pensioner"—that is, secretary and law-adviser—of the city of Rotterdam. In the States-General, where he sat as representative of his town, he secured a controlling influence by his statesmanlike insight, his intelligent firmness,



FIG. 146.—John of Olden-Barneveldt. From the engraving by Willem Jacobz Delft (1580–1638), after the painting by Michel Janson Mierevelt (1567–1641).

his ready eloquence. He defeated all of Leicester's intrigues, and recommended young Maurice of Orange as the best qualified leader for the patriotic cause.

The Provinces had never been weaker or in greater danger. Foreign leaders had brought them no real aid; their complete subjection seemed to be simply a question of time. This was the very moment when in France the League, Philip's party, was triumphant. The Spanish despot, impatient of all resistance, could now devote his energies to the overthrow of the last powerful bulwark of freedom and of Protestantism—England. Mary Stuart's sad fate offered the needed pretext for an attack on Great Britain.

This queen, after her last unsuccessful conspiracy, had been placed in the custody of an honest but strict and gloomy Puritan, Sir Amyas Poulet, who detested the Catholics, and saw in his prisoner the hereditary foe of his faith and of the English people. In spite of his strict watch, Mary succeeded in forming a new plot, the chief agent in which was Anthony Babington. Its object was to make Philip II. king of England and Scotland. The conspirators were to put Elizabeth and her ministers to death, then Farnese was to land on the English coast with the larger part of his army. A considerable number of Catholic lords promised to join the movement.

Walsingham, who had become acquainted with the whole correspondence, allowed the conspiracy to develop far enough to implicate Mary fatally. He and his colleagues deemed her existence incompatible with the safety of Elizabeth and of Protestant England. Then he disclosed all to Elizabeth, who, terrified at her danger, consented not only to the arrest and execution of the conspirators, but also to the trial of Mary. In this she was in full accord with public opinion and with Parliament. Of Mary's participation in the conspiracy against the security of England and the life of Elizabeth, there can be no doubt. It is proved not only by the papers produced by Walsingham, which can scarcely be considered as forged, and the confessions of Mary's two secretaries, which it is an error to attribute to the fear of torture, but also by the correspondence of the Spanish ambassadors. Although she was refused all legal counsel, she defended herself, against the most learned lawyers in England, with a courage and skill that were simply wonderful. Nevertheless, the court at the end of October, 1586, unanimously passed upon her a sentence of death, and Parliament, together with the mass of the nation, urged upon Elizabeth its speedy execution.

This was an act of political security, in some degree morally excusable on account of its necessity, but legally altogether indefensible. Pos-

[illegible]

power, with feare of his life and to relye consequently
 with a dreadfull doubt and expectation of his ruine off to his
 present godly and pious state of this Realme if now shall
 forbear the further finall execution as it is deferred and
 neglect his generall and continuall requests prayers
 Complayntes and earnest desires ^{and} ~~your~~ ^{and} contrary to
 naturall disposition in face, take being overcome with
 their adversitie might their Complaynt and daily interce
 =ssion imploring further manifestation as appereth
 directly tending to the safety not onely of the King but
 also of the weale of this Realme who gave confidence
 to suffer justice to take place & for the execution
 thereof upon the speciall trust experience & confidence
 we have had in your loyalltie faithfulness and love both
 towards the King and the safety thereof and also to your
 naturall Countrey whereof you are most Noble and
 principall members who doe with and by warrant thereof
 do direct and advertise you to come as you shall see fit
 convenient to remaine to the Castle of the Tower of
 London before the Duke of Northfolke is in trust of the
 right trustie servant and Complaynter Sir Amias
 Paulett Knight and by on taking you into your charge
 to cause by your Commaundment execution to be made upon
 your self in the presence of your self and the aforesaid
 Sir Amias Paulett & of such other officers of the service
 as you shall command to attend upon you for that purpose
 and the same to be done in such manner and
 place and at such time & place thereof by such
 persons as so you find fittest to be or two of you
 shall thought by your discretions convenient notwithstanding
 the Statutes and laws Statutory or ordinaries to the
 contrary And to be of the said patentee sealed with the
 great

great Seale of England Balbe to you & every of you &
 to all persons that shall present or be able to shew by
 your commandment to doo any thing touching to the
 aforesaid execution a full sufficient warrant and
 discharge for ever. And further we also shew
 and contented and by this writt we will
 command & authorize of our counsaile of England
 att. by request of you all & every of the duplicat
 of this of this pattern to be to all purposes -
 over only made. Dated & sealed with our great
 Seale of England at the xxviiith are In witness
 whereof we have caused to be & thus to be made
 & attested att. The xxviiith 1st february. anno regis
 of England //

Elizabeth

FIG. 147.¹ The death-warrant of Mary, Queen of Scots, signed by Elizabeth. Dated at Greenwich, February 1, 1587. Reduced facsimile, seven-tenths of the actual size.

terity has condemned Elizabeth the more severely because of her extreme severity to Mary after the court had passed sentence upon her, and also because of her resorting to very unworthy means to escape responsibility for the death of Mary and the vengeance of the Catholics. She ordered Poulet to murder his prisoner in secret, but the stern Puritan indignantly refused. Then she delivered the sentence with her signature (Fig. 147) to her secretary, Davison, to receive the seal of the chancel-

¹ EXPLANATION OF FIG. 147.

The death-warrant of Mary, Queen of Scots, signed by Elizabeth. Dated Greenwich, February 1, 1587.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England Fraunce & Ireland, Defender of the faith etc. To our trustie & welbeloved cosins George Earle of Shrewsbury Erle Marshall of England, Henry Erle of Kent Henry Erle of Darby George Erle of Comberland Henry Erle of Pembroke greeting. Whercas since sentence given by you and others of our Counsell nobility and Judges against the Queene of Scotts by the name of Mary ye daughter of James ye fifth late King of Scotts, comonly called the Queene of Scotts and dowager of Fraunce, as to you is well knowne, all the States in the last Pliamt assembled did not

lor, without directly ordering the execution. The privy council accepted the seal as sufficient authorization, and on February 8, 1587, caused the sentence to be executed. Mary spent her last moments as became a queen, with dignity and composure. Elizabeth, on the other hand, completed her cruel treatment of Mary by a shameful hypocrisy. She ordered Davison to be cast into the Tower for having overstepped his authority and misinterpreted her command; she treated several members of the privy council with positive disfavor, assumed mourning, and gave her victim a splendid funeral. No one was deceived by her pretences.

only delibaty by great advise allowe and approve the same sentence as just and honorable, but also with all humblenes & trustines possible sundry times requier sollicite and presse us to proceed to the publishing of the same, And thereupon direct such further execution against her person as they did adjudge her to have duly deserved; adding thereunto that the forbearing thereof was and would be dailie ascertained & undoubted daunger not only to our owne life but to themselves, their posteritie and them publike estate of this Realme, aswell for the just cause of the gospell & true religion of Christ as for the peace of the whole Realme: Wereunto we did—though the same were with some delay of time—publish the same sentence by our Proclamation, and yet hitherto have forborne to give direction for the further satisfaction of the foresaid most earnest request made by our said estate of our Parliament; whereby Wee doe daily understand by all sortes of our loveing Subjects both of our Nobility and Counsell & also of the wisest greatest & best devoters of all our subjects of inferior degrees, howe greatly and deeply from the bottom of their harte they are greived dayly & afflicted || howerly with feare of our life and thereby consequently with a dreadfull doubt and expectation of the ruine of this present godly and happie estate of this Realme, if wee shall forbear the further finall execution, as it is deferred, and neglect their generall and continuall requeste prayers, Counsell and adresses. And thereupon contrary to our naturall disposition in such case, being overcome with their ardent weight, their Counsell and daily intercessions imploring further necessities as appeareth directly tending to the safety not only of our lief but also of the weale of our whole Realme, Wee have considered to suffer justice to take place & for the execution thereof upon the speciall trust experience & confidence, which wee have in your loyalties, faithfulness and love both towards our person and the safety thereof and also to your naturall Country, Whereof you are most Noble and principall members: wee doe will and by warrant hereof do direct and advertise you so soone as you shall havetime convenient to repaire to our castle of Fotheringhay, where the said Queene of Scotts is in custody of our right trustie servant and counsellor Sir Amias Paulett Knight; and then taking her into your charge to cause by your comaundment execution to be had upon her person in the presence of yourselves and the aforesaid Sir Amias Paulett & of such other officers of the shire as you shall comaund to attend upon you for that purpose, and the same to be done in such manner and forme and att such time & place there and by such persons as so you find. Four or three or two of you shalbe thought by your discretions convenient, notwithstanding any lawe statute or ordinaunce to the contrary. And these our Lettres patentes sealed with our || great seal of England shalbe to you and every of you to all persons that shalbe present or that shalbe by you comaunded to doe any thing partayning to the aforesaid execution, a full sufficient warrant and discharge for ever. And further wee are also pleased and contented and bye these presents wee doe will comaund & authorise our Chauncellor of England att the request of you, all & every of you, to ratifie the duplicat of these our Lettres patentes to be in to all purposes ever duly made. Dated & sealed with our great seale of England as these presents are. In witnes Whereof Wee have caused these our Lettres to be made pattentes. Att Greenwich, 1^o Februarij, anno XXIX of our Reigne.

[Signed] Elizabeth R[egina].

The death of Mary was to the Catholics everywhere a martyr's death. Everywhere it intensified their hatred of heretics. In France, especially, the feeling was intense against Henry III., who was accused of having connived at the execution of Mary. Henry III.'s great mistake in submitting to the League was becoming more and more evident. The longer the war against the Protestants lasted, and the more fearful the devastation caused by it, the more intense grew the distrust and dislike of the zealous Catholics for the king. Mendoza, now Spanish ambassador in Paris, fomented the dissatisfaction and urged Henry of Guise to make himself, by force, the supreme master of France.

Henry III. was surrounded by traitors, who reported all his decisions to the Leaguers. In Paris the discontent was outspoken and bold. The preachers had really persuaded the people that they were governed by a tyrant, a monster, a tool of Satan. Allured by the hope of plunder a multitudinous rabble had gathered in the city, where they trained under the mask of religious zeal. Catharine de' Medici had gone over to the Guises, who were gathering an army in Nancy. They were made still bolder by the death of the most zealous Calvinist among the royal princes, Condé, who died in March, 1588, by poison—though the criminal could never be detected. The king felt himself in such danger that he summoned at once four thousand trusty Swiss to the capital. This was the signal for the outbreak. On May 9, 1588, Henry of Guise, in defiance of the king's orders, made his entrance into Paris and was rapturously welcomed by the populace as prince and liberator. He made his way at once to the palace. Henry III. thought he could extricate himself from this humiliating and threatening position by quartering in the city proper the 4000 Swiss and 2000 French guards, who had heretofore been quartered in the suburbs. But on May 12, Guise and his friends called the citizens to arms. Barricades were everywhere erected; the royal troops, which had been strictly enjoined to remain on the defensive, were assailed in the street from windows and roofs with stones and shot. Without a leader, some of them at heart with the Guises, they soon laid down their arms. The king fled from Paris, as the only way of saving his freedom and his crown.

Guise repented, when it was too late, that he had not used the opportunity afforded by the "Day of the Barricades" to make Henry prisoner. For now the war between the League and the king was unavoidable, and the latter would be certain to throw his weight in the scale on the side of the Protestants and the Politiques.

The conspiracy that had led to the events of May in Paris was but one act in the great drama which Philip had so carefully devised and

planned. The second was to be the overthrow of the Tudors, of Protestantism, and of liberty in England and Scotland. In vain his ministers advised him to defer everything else until the complete subjection of the Netherlands, and then with free hands and a firm support attempt the subjugation of England. In vain did Alessandro Farnese and the most experienced of Spanish admirals, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, urge that at least some of the chief seaports of Holland should first be secured, to keep the Hollanders in check and to afford harbors of refuge for the Spanish fleet in case of storm or defeat. Philip clung immovably to his plan, and with harsh reproaches and taunts urged his generals and admirals to hasten their preparations. This undeserved treatment and the dread of the king's wrath brought on brave Santa Cruz a fever that put an end to his life and deprived the great undertaking of the only leader fit to command it. His successor was the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, one of the most distinguished and wealthiest of Spanish noblemen, who, however, had not had the least experience in naval affairs—"in place of an iron general, a golden one."

In the early part of the summer of 1588, everything was ready for the expedition that was to settle Spain's claims to rule the world. The prospect was favorable, and the Catholic king might well indulge in brilliant hopes. In France, his trusty allies, the Guises and the League, were triumphant. In Germany, the Catholic Counter-reformation, favored and fostered by the Hapsburgs, was assuming greater and greater proportions. The Netherlands, with the exception of three or four maritime provinces, were again under his rule. Could England withstand this invincible Armada, this proud fleet of 130 immense vessels, manned by 30,000 sailors and marines, and destined to transport from the Netherlands to Great Britain 30,000 of Farnese's veterans? Success appeared the more certain because Elizabeth had really allowed herself to be deceived by the wily Spanish monarch. At the very last moment only, did she find out what terrible danger threatened her. Then, indeed, she made her preparations with feverish haste, aided by the warlike temper of the nation. It was doubtful whether her militia, commanded by second-rate generals, could make any serious resistance against the veterans of Farnese; besides, a rising of the Catholics was feared as soon as the landing of the Spaniards should inspire them with sufficient courage and confidence. The queen's reliance, therefore, was mostly put on her fleet, which was to defend all approach to the English coast. Elizabeth, in her petty economy, had allowed her ships of war to dwindle down to 34 small vessels. But in England, as in the Northern Netherlands, Philip met a foe with whom his diplomats and generals were not wont

to reckon, and whom it was harder to conquer than monarchs and regular soldiers—a brave, liberty-loving people. In a few months the cities and private gentlemen of England brought to her defence 163 armed vessels.

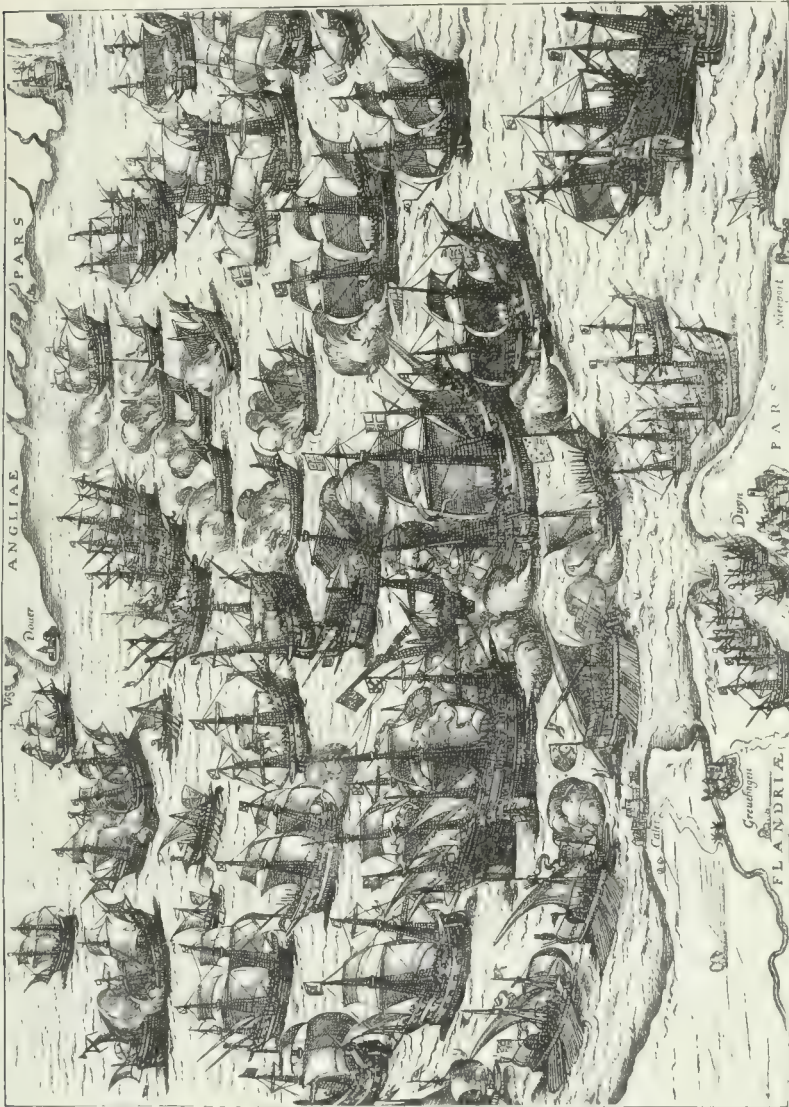


FIG. 148.—The Spanish Armada. Contemporary engraving by Franz Hogenberg, with the inscription (translated): "What the Armada sent forth by the Spaniard against England accomplished, all men know: No might can win without God."

Most of them were small, but they were heavily manned with the best sailors in the world, and commanded by the most renowned sea-captains

of the day—Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher—men thoroughly acquainted with the dangerous waters on which the struggle was to take place.

On July 22, 1588, the *Invincible Armada* (Fig. 148) left the coast of Spain, and, with favoring winds, drew near the Netherlands. The English at first carefully avoided all general engagements, in which they might have been crushed by the enormous ships of their antagonists, but with their lighter and swifter vessels they incessantly swarmed about the Spaniards, attacking them and inflicting serious losses, while too nimble in their movements to suffer any harm in return. A few fire-ships that Drake sent against the Armada threw it into confusion. Finally, a terrible southwestern storm scattered and partly destroyed it. The Duke of Medina-Sidonia lost his head, and ordered a retreat northward around the Orkneys. England's danger was now over. While the English sought safety from the storm in their own harbors, conscious of having struck a good blow to keep England free, the unmanageable Spanish vessels, strained, leaking, without skilful pilots, were tossed helpless and hopeless on the angry ocean and wrecked on the coasts of Scotland, Norway, and Ireland. The Armada was practically destroyed.

The wreck of the Armada was the wreck of Philip's great political schemes. He had risked everything upon this enormous venture; its failure was irretrievable. Neither the millions of money nor the thousands of veterans that lay buried in the English seas could soon be replaced. The naval supremacy of Spain was gone forever. Just at the moment when the scheming monarch hoped to crown his gigantic political edifice, it fell, borne down by its own mass. The English sailors in those stormy August days of the year 1588 had secured the civil and religious liberties of their own nation, of the Netherlands, of France, nay—in the future—of the whole civilized world, against the crushing political and religious despotism of the Spanish empire.

Henry III. took courage from this defeat of his arch-enemy and convoked the States-General in Blois, hoping by their help to restore the royal rule. But he had miscalculated. The Calvinists did not appear at all, and, when, on October 16, 1588, the States-General were formally opened, they were wholly under the influence of the Guises. The assembly demanded that its decisions have the force of law, irrespective of royal assent; that taxes should be reduced to the rate under Louis XI., regardless of the fact that money was now worth only one-third as much as then; and, finally, they insisted that the king should carry on the war against the Huguenots with more energy and efficiency than heretofore. Henry knew that the Duke of Guise was the originator of these extreme

PLATE XX.



Henry III., King of France.

From a painting in the Louvre, Paris.

measures against himself, and his Italian blood finally took fire; on December 23, 1588, he caused some of his bodyguards to slay the duke, and soon after the duke's brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine-Guise. Several prominent members were arrested, and the assembly, in terror and dismay, broke up.

The news of the tragedy of Blois excited indescribable fury in Paris and in all the larger towns of France. The Sorbonne declared the nation released from its oath of allegiance to Henry III. The pope excommunicated all who had any share in the murder. The council of the League assembled in Paris and offered the Duke of Mayenne, as next brother of the murdered duke, the government of the realm with the title of lieutenant-general. Henceforth, the League appears as an independent power with an international part to play. A general Catholic union, embracing the pope, the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, and Philip II., was formed to give it support.

Henry III. would surely have been lost if he had not, at the last moment, decided to make common cause with the Huguenots and Henry of Navarre. In April, 1589, an alliance was made between the two kings. The extreme measures of the League had so startled moderate Catholics that the union of the two Henrys did not shock many of them, and they flocked to the standard of their legitimate ruler. Many thousand Swiss and German Protestants also joined them; and Henry III. (PLATE XX.) was enabled to cross the Loire, defeat the Leaguers at Senlis, and begin the siege of Paris.

In the capital the fanaticism of priests and monks was as fierce as ever, but the people began to lose heart, and probably the assault appointed for August 2 would have been successful. But on the evening of July 31, 1589, a Dominican monk, Jacques Clement, fatally stabbed Henry III., thinking thereby to rid the world of an excommunicated monster. The king died on the morning of August 2, the last of the Valois dynasty that had ruled France for two hundred and sixty-one years, and given her thirteen kings. Terrible indeed was the fate of the enemies of Catholicism; after Coligny and William of Orange, it now rid itself by murder of a crowned and anointed king. And he was not to be the last of its noble victims.

No one now could lawfully dispute the claim of Henry of Navarre—Henry IV. as he called himself—to the French crown. But there were political difficulties in his way. Even the least prejudiced Politique doubted whether he could conscientiously help a relapsed heretic to the throne of France. If the moderate Catholics abandoned him, Henry was powerless; for with his Huguenots alone he could not hope

to conquer France and defeat the Catholic union. A part of the Catholic nobility actually left the royal camp, in spite of Henry's promise that he would submit to the instruction of a national council and his readiness to give all necessary guarantees for the safety of the Catholic religion. But a goodly number of the Politiques thought it more consistent with their loyalty and their interests to abide with the new king rather than submit to the League, and tendered to Henry the oath of allegiance. Still the continuance of the siege of Paris was out of the question, and Henry withdrew into Normandy.

It was everywhere acknowledged that the struggle going on in France was one of universal interest, that it was but a part of the great contest between freedom and oppression, which had for twenty years been going on in the plains of the Netherlands and more recently on the English seas. Elizabeth sent the French king money and soldiers. On the other hand, the pope granted the League a large subsidy and sent to France a legate, who was to turn against Henry all the weapons of the spiritual arsenal. Philip sent Mayenne 800,000 crowns on condition that the League should proclaim as king the old Cardinal of Bourbon, under the name of Charles X. But the bold spirit and the military ability and resources of Henry IV. were things to be reckoned with. By defeating Mayenne in the celebrated battle of Ivry, on March 14, 1590, Henry was enabled to resume the siege of Paris. The richer and more intelligent citizens were in favor of surrender to the king, but the great mass of the populace, thoroughly organized by the League's secret municipal council of sixteen members, the so-called "Seize," and goaded on by fanatic preachers, was determined to resist to the last extremity. A few months reduced the city to famine; the people ground the bones of the dead for meal; children were killed for food, when suddenly rescue came.

There can be little doubt that Farnese would soon have reduced the small portion of the Netherlands that was still independent if Philip had been wise enough to turn all his efforts upon this all-important point. But just as in 1588 Farnese had been forced to send his forces against England, so now he received imperative orders to take them to France, and this gave Maurice of Nassau, Orange's second son, now grown to manhood, time and opportunity to change a disastrous defensive into a successful offensive war.

Maurice was a genuine Netherlander, outwardly even more taciturn than his father, William the Silent, but within full of ardor. Devoted to his country, tenacious, and persevering, Maurice began his military and political career auspiciously. He turned his mathematical and scientific studies to good account, carrying on the war with closest calculation

and a heretofore unheard-of engineering skill, greatly to the disadvantage of the Spaniards. Farnese forced the king of France a second time to raise the siege of Paris, but his interference on behalf of the League, however advantageous to the latter, was fatal to the success of the Spanish cause in the Netherlands. Maurice had profited by Farnese's absence to rid most of the Friesian provinces of the Spanish troops. Farnese hastened back, and the League, left to its own resources, was unable to cope with Henry IV., whom the majority of Frenchmen were learning to look upon as their lawful king.

As the difficulties of the League increased, its leaders grew more and more clamorous for Spanish help, and Philip, instead of defending his tottering authority in the Netherlands, kept up his pursuit of his chimaera of a universal empire. He availed himself of the circumstance that all the leaders of the Catholic reaction vied with each other in courting his aid to make each of them dependent upon him, and thus prepared—or fancied he prepared—the candidature of his eldest daughter, Isabella, to the throne of France; the Cardinal of Bourbon, the so-called Charles X., having died in May, 1590. He also helped his godson, the bold and unscrupulous Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, to make himself master of the margraviate of Saluzzo and of a part of Provence. And the League permitted this, for the cosmopolitan Catholic reaction ignored all patriotism.

Henry IV. also had foreign allies, but he never dreamed—and this is an essential difference between the League and the Huguenot king—of alienating any part of the territory of France. The feeling of solidarity was strong enough to draw numerous allies to him. Elizabeth of England was on the best of terms with him; indeed, according to her wont, in spite of her sixty years, she kept up with him an interchange of romantic sentiments. Henry readily enough submitted to this absurdity, for without the queen's liberal support in men and money he could scarcely have held his own in Northern France. The German Calvinists also furnished him with gold to pay 16,000 German troops. The day of mediaeval isolation was past; the great struggle between the Reformation and its foes, whilst dividing Europe, brought men of like faith in different nations into far closer union.

In Paris the Seize ruled more absolutely and recklessly than ever. As the civil struggle grew more widespread and desperate, their revolutionary tendencies grew more pronounced. They set up a Council of Ten, a worthy prototype of the Committee of Safety of 1792; resolved to profit by Mayenne's absence to get rid of all moderate and loyal men, in November, 1591, they hanged Brisson, first president of Parlement.

and two other councillors, and they posted proscription lists of all who were suspected of heresy and lukewarmness. Meanwhile they urged Philip to assume at once the title of Universal Catholic King.

Such extreme measures were exceedingly distasteful to the overwhelming majority of the citizens, and when Mayenne, hastening back to Paris, had the leaders of the Seize executed and broke up their organization, his course met with almost unanimous approbation. The climax of clerical enthusiasm was passed, the masses were disenchanted, and the patriotic reaction in favor of the legitimate king grew more and more pronounced.

Once more Philip determined to save the League, and commanded Farnese to hasten to Normandy and oblige Henry IV. to raise the siege of Rouen, in which he had been engaged four months (1592). The king was defeated, wounded, and almost taken prisoner; Rouen was relieved, and Paris strengthened by Spanish troops. The fruit of a whole year's labor was thus lost to Henry. But Spain paid for her successes in France with the loss of the Northern Netherlands. In the three years, 1590-92, Maurice of Nassau (Fig. 149), had, by victories and conquests, doubled the area of the United Provinces. Farnese saw the work of a lifetime wasted by the insatiable greed of his uncle. His fate was a tragic one. While he was marching and countermarching between the Lower Rhine and the Loire with his unpaid, half-starved, mutinous soldiers, not only was he left wholly unsupported by Philip, but the latter accused him of incapacity, of treason even, and was preparing to remove him from his command, and possibly to send him to prison. Sick at heart and in body, Alessandro Farnese withdrew to Spa, where a sudden death, December 3, 1592, saved him from a worse fate.

The affairs of Philip seemed to thrive better in France. The States-General, wholly under the control of the League and Mayenne, altogether dependent as they were on Spanish subsidies in men and money, were ready to acknowledge the Infanta Isabella for queen, provided she should marry a French prince. Henry IV. was determined to prevent this at a considerable personal sacrifice. At bottom wholly indifferent in religious matters, he had, until now, abstained from yielding to the wishes, hopes, and steady urgings of the great majority of Catholics that he should publicly avow the Catholic faith. His unwillingness was due to a sense of honor and a profound aversion to hypocrisy. But the relentless and unscrupulous interference of Spain convinced him, at last, that he could not hope successfully to end the civil war as a heretic; and he declared publicly his readiness to receive instruction in the orthodox faith from a number of theologians and bishops.

of the chiefs of the League. They clamored for an armistice with Henry. The national hatred of Spain was greatly revived and strengthened by the publication of the *Satire Ménippée*, a political satire, both in prose and verse, directed against the League; it was a witty and powerful production, and, in the eyes of the people, did more harm to the party of the League than the loss of a battle. It celebrates the lofty virtue of the Spanish Catholicon (punning on the name of a then popular panacea), which enables the person provided with it to penetrate into a hostile country, there to plunder and waste at will, and yet be welcomed as a friend; and which makes the greatest rascals appear heroes of the faith. The "Catholigists" are introduced, one after another, and made to reveal their most secret and villainous desires and purposes; which, heretofore, they had carefully concealed under the guise of religious zeal. But in the end the satire boldly prophesies to the Castilians that they will ultimately leave their "blood and goods" in France, that the kingdom was not destined to be their prey.

Henry eagerly availed himself of the change in the public opinion to conclude an armistice with the Parisians, so as to prepare for his abjuration with fitting solemnity. There was no question of real conviction, and the bishops were given clearly to understand that they must not deal in theological subtleties. On July 25, 1593, in the grand Cathedral of St. Denis, Henry, as he wrote jestingly to his mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées, "took the perilous leap."

He knew well how much he gained by this step. The majority of his antagonists in France were glad to escape the turmoil and hardships of civil war under the protection of a legitimate national king. The Calvinists, however loudly they might deplore Henry's recantation, could not forsake their only protector. Pope Clement VIII., it is true, in spite of his personal moderation, felt obliged to refuse to recognize the right of bishops to remove a papal excommunication, and the hostility between the king and the pope continued, but Henry was certainly not the main loser thereby. Yielding to these various influences, the States-General dissolved, the central provinces of France submitted, and were soon followed by Provence, Lyons, and the larger cities of Normandy. In Paris the populace, formerly so strong for the League, loudly clamored for reconciliation with the legitimate king, now that he was a Catholic. During a temporary absence of Mayenne, the gates of the city were thrown open to Henry by its governor, Brissac, whom Henry had won over by brilliant promises, and the capital fell into the king's hands almost without bloodshed March 22, 1594 (Figs. 150, 151). The Duke of Feria, with his three thousand Spaniards, was allowed to leave

with the honors of war. "My compliments to your master," Henry said to him, "a pleasant journey to yourself; but please do not return." He followed in other matters his natural inclination for clemency, which, on this occasion, was also truest prudence. No executions marred the general joy which the Parisians manifested at the cessation of their hardships and the restoration of the legitimate government. By the end of 1594 the youthful Guise and the League had submitted. The legitimate king of France, the leader of the Huguenots and of the "Politiques," the



FIG. 150. Entry of Henry IV. into Paris. From a contemporary engraving by Jean le Clerc, after a painting by N. Bollery. The entry takes place, as the legend shows, at the Porte Neuve, March 22, 1594. The knight to whom the king is speaking seems to be de Brissac. (From Lacroix.)

ruler whom the League had declared it never would acknowledge, had become the real master of France. But he had been obliged to submit to the decision of the League, that only a Catholic should be king of the land; he had thereby practically recognized, and in some measure legalized, the opposition made against him.

But in this great conflict, in which so many elements had shared, some were defeated—these were the democracy, Philip II., and the papacy. The first of these had as yet so little hold upon the people that even the great cities threw it overboard without hesitation. Philip II.

had here again made the most enormous sacrifices, but all in vain. He was defeated as decisively in France as he had been in the Netherlands and in England. By wishing to embrace all, he had lost nearly all. Spain and her wily ruler, forever plotting mischief, began to be for Europe objects of contempt and derision, for the failure of their plans had been accompanied by a failing of their resources. While the United Provinces yearly extended their territory at the expense of that part of the Netherlands which still remained under Spanish rule; while, in spite of the war, they grew stronger and richer by the accession of all the free-thinking men, all the rich merchants and enterprising artisans



FIG. 151. Departure of the Spanish garrison from Paris. As the legend declares, King Henry IV. witnesses, from the Porte St. Denis, the departure of the foreign troops. From a contemporary engraving. See Fig. 262.

from the Spanish Netherlands, and by the plundering of Spanish merchant fleets and Spanish colonies, the "loyal provinces" were in the saddest plight. Oppressed by a galling political and religious despotism, shut out from the sea by the superior fleets of Spain's enemies, weighed down by taxes, plundered by the unpaid riotous Spanish soldiery, the Spanish Netherlands steadily lost in prosperity, population and material and intellectual importance.

With England, Philip fared no better. What humiliation for him

and Spain when, in 1596, the Earl of Essex, with a Dutch-English squadron, attacked the royal ships before Cadiz, forced his way into the harbor, captured or sank the whole Spanish fleet, and plundered and burned the city itself! The victors carried away booty amounting to twenty million ducats, and the property destroyed by fire amounted to much more still. A new fleet that Philip sent against Ireland, in the autumn, was destroyed by a storm when scarcely out of the harbor of Ferrol, and 5000 soldiers perished with it. Events like these revealed to the whole world the decay of the Spanish navy and the incapacity of its officers.

The papacy also suffered defeat as a result of the civil wars in France. Henry IV. appointed new incumbents to the vacant bishoprics to the exclusion of the pope, and the confirmation denied by the pope was granted by the French archbishops. The pope began to fear a permanent schism in France. He was, moreover, heartily tired of the tyrannical behavior of the Spaniards in Rome, of their constant fault-finders and threatenings, and wished to make French influence a counterweight to theirs. He, therefore, opened negotiations that soon led to favorable results. According to the wont of his predecessors in similar difficulties, Clement VIII., satisfied with saving the form, yielded in all essentials to Henry's wishes. He required of him no pledge to persecute the Huguenots; he simply enjoined upon him a moral life, the endowment of convents, attendance on certain religious ceremonies, the restoration of the Catholic faith in the principality of Béarn. He also exacted that the young prince of Condé should be brought up in the old faith. Even when, after Chastel's attempt to murder Henry, the Jesuit Order was expelled from France on the ground that members of it had befriended the assassin, Clement was easily reconciled. Finally, in relation to the most difficult point, an expedient was found: the absolution of the king by the bishops was described as *minus recte et rite facta*, but not invalidated.

This reconciliation of king and pope took from the League its last excuse. It could, henceforth, be nothing less than a rebellion, supported by the enemies of the realm, for war had, in 1595, been declared against Spain. Henry marched into Burgundy, overran it, and when the Spanish general, Velasco, with a force far superior to the king's, hastened to the aid of Mayenne, the latter met with a disastrous repulse. The chief of the League then gave up all hope, and as Henry, on his part, was ready to make the greatest sacrifices to secure peace for France, a treaty was made at Folembray (January, 1596), which virtually put an end to the war. Henry not only granted full pardon for the past, but lavishly con-

ferred upon the principal Leaguers money, governorships, places of safety, etc. The settlement of this quarrel is said to have cost him, or rather France, one hundred million livres. It was said that the surest way to secure Henry's favors was not to serve him, but to oppose him. Contemporary and later writers have falsely attributed this course of the king to kindness and clemency; it is far more correct to say that it was dictated by policy and by state interest.

Even with the League at an end, Henry's position was not altogether pleasant. The public treasury was exhausted. The people, impoverished by a generation of civil war, could no longer bear the burdens imposed upon them, and murmured the more at them because of the notorious knavery and extortions of the officials. The Protestants were generally profoundly dissatisfied, because the king delayed so long in granting them the liberties and guarantees he had promised them. The great nobles, in the governments conceded to them by the Treaty of Folembray, conducted themselves almost like independent rulers.

Just then, when his perplexities were at their height, relief came to Henry from a most unexpected source. Philip II., worn out by age, disease, and disasters, opened negotiations for peace.

The impression that posterity has received of the reign of Philip II. is that it was one of perfect uniformity and unbroken consistency. But the fact is otherwise. The gloomy hermit of the Escorial could not escape the influence of the men that surrounded him and worked for him. The character of his policy was largely modified by their views. True, he was from the first day of his reign till his death the constant champion of Catholic interests and Spanish greatness. This lay in the very nature of his being and in his deepest convictions. But during the first twenty years of his reign, he remained mainly on the defensive, concluding peace with France and the pope as soon as possible, and trying to maintain a good understanding with England, and even making concessions to his subjects in the Netherlands. Foreign observers described him as a quiet, well-meaning prince, who above all else wished for peace. This policy of the king was due to the influence of the party which, after Alva's fall, became all-powerful in the king's councils—the party of Ruy Gomez de Silva, Prince of Eboli. It is true the prince himself had died in 1572, but his partisans were in high favor with Philip. Antonio Perez and John of Austria were among them. We have seen how these two fell out, and how Don John and his friends were ruined thereby. At length, however, the policy constantly recommended by Eboli's party signally failed in the Nether-

lands, and it became clear that nothing short of ruthless war could extirpate Calvinism.

The double treason that Perez had, as secret lover of Princess Eboli, practiced on Escobedo and on the king, was atoned by him. It was notorious that Perez was the murderer of Escobedo. At the head of his enemies was his colleague in the state office, Matteo Vasquez, an obscure sneak, whom Perez treated with constant contempt. When Escobedo's family sought to avenge his murder, Vasquez took up their cause with ardor. At first, Philip favored and protected Perez. But when undoubted evidence was given him of the relations that had existed between the princess and Perez, and he saw how shamefully Perez had deceived him, and how deeply he had wronged Escobedo, the king resolved to ruin the guilty man. But he retained him one year longer, showering compliments and promises upon him till he had found a man to fill his place.

At length, Philip was ready. In July, 1579, Granvella, who at the age of sixty-two had been enjoying deserved repose at the Roman court and had temporarily filled the position of viceroy in Naples, was summoned to Madrid. His arrival was the signal for the arrest of Perez and the Princess of Eboli. The party of Ruy Gomez, which we have called the moderate party, was completely broken up. Then began the second period of Philip's reign—the period of aggression. Farnese exercised absolute sway over the Netherlands; Portugal was conquered; murderous assaults on Queen Elizabeth alternated with the sending of fleets to conquer England; Philip assumed the direction of the Catholic party in France, and, with its help, sought to secure the crown of that country for his daughter.

Meanwhile, the terrible drama which, beginning with the guilty relations of the Princess of Eboli and Perez, had caused first the murder of Escobedo, then the early death of Don John, finally the ruin of the guilty pair, was pursuing its peculiar and tragic course. The princess was kept a prisoner till her death, in 1592. Perez was, under various pretexts, now imprisoned, now released, till the king felt assured that all papers that could compromise him in the Escobedo matter had been secured from him. Then, having deprived him of all means of justification—at least, so he thought—he caused him to be arrested once more and subjected to torture. He hoped to rid himself of the only witness of his own guilt in the Escobedo matter.

Now Perez remembered that as a native of Aragon he might avail himself of the special privileges enjoyed by the Aragonese. With the aid of his noble and heroic wife, who, in spite of all his infidelity, devoted herself wholly to his interests, he succeeded in making his escape from

his prison to Saragossa, where he placed himself under the protection of the proper court, and exhibited for his defence the original order of the king, in which he was distinctly required to murder Escobedo, and which he had carefully preserved. The court of Aragon absolved him—a severe blow to Philip's pride. The king now addressed himself to a tribunal wholly independent of all human laws and of royalty itself—the Inquisition. Bribed witnesses brought an accusation of blasphemy against Perez; but the people saw in the rearrest of Perez a violation of their liberties, and twice rescued Perez from the dungeons of the Inquisition, and even murdered the Marquis of Almenara, Philip's representative in Aragon (1591).

Philip rather welcomed these disturbances. He had long desired an occasion to break down the spirit of defiant independence of the Aragonese, and to force open their obstinately closed purses. He sent against them a force of 10,000 men, commanded by Alonso de Vargas, a rude soldier grown gray in the camp. At first the Aragonese were disposed to fight for their liberties, and they obliged their hesitating chief judiciary, Don Juan de la Nuza, to put himself at the head of their small army. But they were undisciplined, they dreaded the superior power of Castile; and before long Saragossa was left alone. Then de la Nuza gave up all resistance, and the royal troops entered the capital of the province without striking a blow. The members of the court which acquitted Perez, and a large number of prominent noblemen, were beheaded; others of lesser rank were burned as heretics.

Aragon lay trembling and submissive at Philip's feet. He used his victory to secure from the Cortes of the province the abrogation of some of its liberties. The independence of Aragon was really at an end, and this was another of the consequences of the murder of Escobedo thirteen years before, a murder that had already cost so much sorrow and caused the ruin of so many men.

The real culprit, Perez, had in the meantime succeeded in making his escape, and lived part of the time in England, part in France. His intrigues and importunities made him as thoroughly detested in these foreign lands as he had been in Madrid, and he died in 1611 in wretchedness and want.

It is a singular fact that Philip, who looked upon himself and whom the whole world looked upon as a pillar of the faith, a prop for the whole organization of the Catholic hierarchy, was constantly at variance with the papacy. The explanation of this strange state of things is twofold. On the one hand, the Spanish king insisted upon considering the clergy of his realm primarily as subjects, subordinate to the Roman See in

matters of doctrine indeed, but not in matters of discipline or jurisdiction, and he endeavored by all possible means to foster in the clergy a national and loyal spirit. On the other hand, Philip looked upon the church simply as an important wheel of the complicated machinery of his universal policy. He expected the Holy See to use its spiritual weapons to promote his plans and to help him utilize the resources of the Spanish clergy. If the pope did not show himself submissive enough, if he hinted that the church had other interests than those of Spain, then Philip's assumed obedience was at an end, and he had only harsh words and bitter complaints for the papal court. All zealous Catholics, outside of Spain as well as inside, were disposed to acknowledge the Spanish monarch's amazing claims. The Duke of Savoy said: "The real father of the French Catholics is Philip II." "Whatever His Majesty does is for the service of God and the general good of Christendom," was the fundamental principle of Spanish diplomacy. No wonder that Philip did not hesitate to violate, whenever he deemed it proper, the constitution and discipline of the papal system. A papal nuncio who, contrary to the ordinances of the Council of Castile, interfered in a dispute between the Bishop of Calahorra and his chapter, was forced to leave Madrid within twenty-four hours, escorted to a ship by royal officers, and sent back to Rome.

Previously to the election of Gregory XIV. (1590) Philip took the unexampled step of openly naming to the cardinals a list of the candidates whose election would be approved by him. This monarch, whose wont it was to pose as the most loyal son of the Holy See, did not scruple to do violence to the Holy Spirit, and dictate to the church the selection of St. Peter's successor! And his preference was mainly for superannuated men whose strength and spirit were broken, and from whom he would experience no resistance to his exactions, nor any tendency to novelties and reforms in political or religious matters. "His Catholic majesty wishes no innovations" was the steady motto of the Spanish court.

At length, however, the college of cardinals wearied of Spanish tutelage, and determined, in view of the troubled and difficult condition of the church, to elect first of all a man vigorous in mind and body, who should hold the pontificate longer and more efficiently than his immediate predecessors. They consequently elected a candidate of neutral position, Ippolito Aldobrandini, who became Clement VIII. The reaction against Spanish rule began at once. A commission of theologians appointed by the pope decided that Philip's conduct in papal elections did, *ipso facto*, expose him to excommunication. Philip II.

excommunicated! Spain's despotism over Rome was indeed over. Here, as in other things, the bow too tightly drawn finally broke. What a humiliation for Philip when Clement granted absolution to Henry IV.!

The responsibility for Philip's failures rested largely with the ministers, who, after the overthrow of the Eboli party, had exercised a paramount influence over the king, and more especially with Granvella, who, until his death in 1586, had been the moving spirit among them all. He was possessed with the idea of a universal Spanish monarchy. At first Philip had often differed from the cardinal, who seemed to him too violent, but he had gradually fallen in with his way of thinking, and the greater the difficulties in the way, the more resolutely did he face them with the tenacious persistency of his sixty years. The spirit of Granvella continued to prevail even after his death, certainly not to the advantage of Spain or of Europe. Philip had withdrawn to the Escorial and never appeared among his people. Night and day he sat at his desk, bent over innumerable dispatches and reports, all of which had to be submitted to him; he noted, pen in hand, every detail of each document, not only its scope and meaning, but even grammatical, geographical, and historical points. In his old age (Fig. 152) the stern old man granted himself neither rest nor recreation; his only dissipation was overseeing his officials. Though, with the increase of years, he had grown very economical in his personal expenses, and really miserly in his dealings with his servants, he continued to waste enormous sums on his visionary political schemes and on his immense architectural undertakings, which seemed to him proportioned to his majesty. His address and his expression of countenance remained as ever polite and calmly friendly, so that his real meaning was altogether impenetrable. One of the foreign ambassadors at his court calls him the father of hypocrisy. Men's judgment of him grew more and more unfavorable. His religion was a mask for selfishness, his justice was but cruel sternness, his thrift was naught but miserliness, his love of peace a mere striving after universal dominion. All Europe had to suffer from the effects of his heartless, cunning, encroaching policy.

Strangely enough, this same prince was a very tender father to his two daughters, Isabella and Catharine, and he exchanged with them most affectionate letters whenever he was absent. He keeps them informed of the least of his doings, and inquires in detail into their own and those of their little brother. He shows himself quite ingenious in preparing surprises and presents for them, and does not forget to prescribe for their little ailments. What is still more remarkable is that this

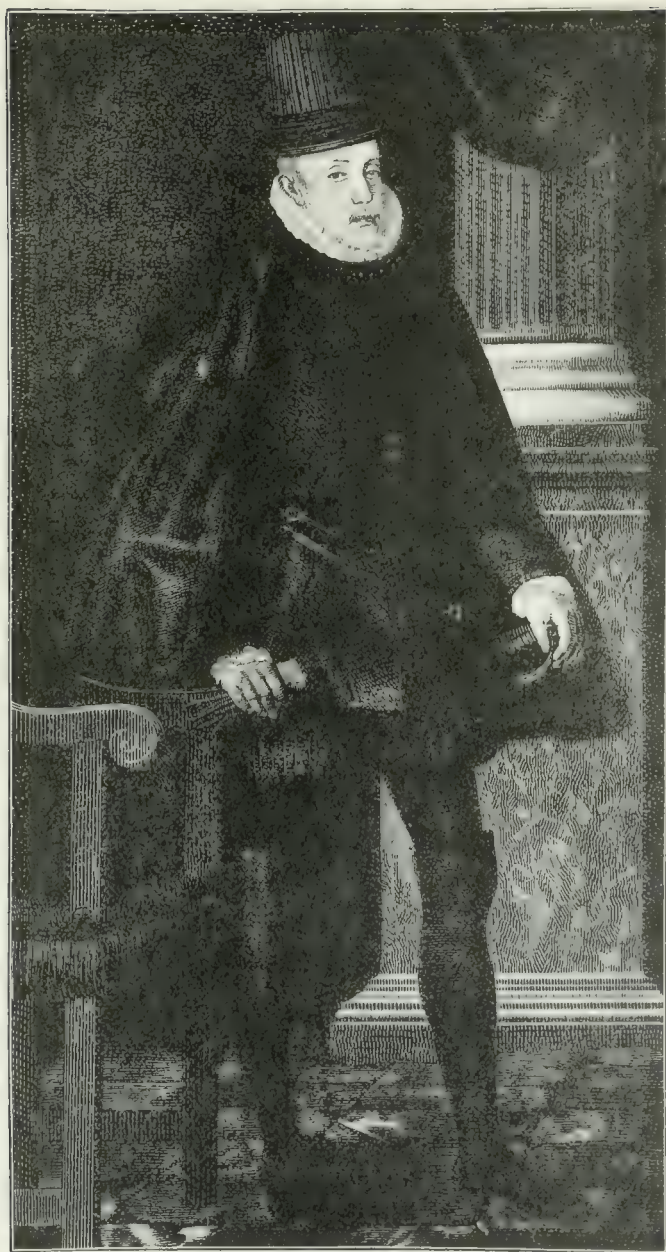


FIG. 152. - Philip II. in his old age. Painting by Antonio Moro (1512-1588). (Madrid.)

despot, who frowns upon every opposition, every token of independence on the part of his nobles and of his officers, allowed himself to be tyrannized over by his personal servants, to whom he is constantly yielding, "lest they should deal too roughly with him."

Among his subjects also the favorable opinion formerly entertained of him underwent a change when all his undertakings miscarried, the glory and dream of his world-empire passed away, and nothing remained but the losses of men and money. Here, too, the people took to hating the king, feeling that it was under him and through him that the state had come to loss and been crippled in material and spiritual resources.

It was during the reign of Philip II., however, that Spain won a foremost place in the literature of Europe. In this period Luis Ponce de Leon wrote his odes, Diego de Mendoza his satires, Francisco de Figueroa his idyls, Alonso de Ercilla his epic, *La Araucana*, narrating the deeds and sufferings of the Spaniards in the New World, and Cervantes his novels. Two world-famed geniuses appeared in Spain at this time—this same Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547-1616) and Lope Felix de Vega Carpio (1562-1635). It were needless to praise here "Don Quixote," that work endowed with everlasting youth, in which are united inexhaustible humor, the deepest philosophy, the finest psychological art; a work in which the ironical presentation of obsolete forms is only a disguise for the extolling of the purest, most unselfish idealism, expressed in an unaffected, poetic, dignified style. Lope de Vega, the most gifted dramatist of Spain and the most prolific poet of all times—he wrote fifteen hundred comedies, besides religious and occasional pieces—was not only endowed with infinite powers of invention, but also with a fine sense for what was true to race and to nature, with a sound realism that makes his works reflect most happily and correctly the very being of the Spanish nation. His mastery over his tongue and his skill of versification are unparalleled, and his contemporaries might well name him the "phoenix of wits," a "wonder of genius."

In history also Spain had then her classics; we need only mention here two out of many, Diego de Mendoza, and the great national history of the famous Jesuit, Mariana. These authors were all inspired by the glory and fame of their country; most of them had served the king and the state with pen or sword in all parts of the world. Diego de Mendoza was Charles V.'s ambassador at Rome and at the Council of Trent, as well as governor of Siena. Ercilla had collected material for his epic in campaigns against the natives of South America. Cervantes lost an arm in the great fight of Lepanto; Lope took part in an expedition against the Azores, and served in the Invincible Armada. Lofty

THE EUROPEAN COLONIES
about 1600 A. D.

Legend:
 England (pink box)
 Spain (light blue box)
 Portugal (light green box)
 France (light yellow box)

Scale: 100 Miles, 100 Degrees

History of Illinois, Vol. I. pp. 11.

patriotism, ardent faith, knightly valor, characterized these poets and writers.

The manners and fashions of Spain, no less than her diplomacy, her arms, and her literature, were in the ascendant the world over in the second half of the sixteenth century. It was the custom then for every elegant gentleman to wear the tall round Spanish hat with spreading feathers, well tipped upon the ear, the long rapier at his side; to indulge in high-sounding phrases and in martial oaths, to intersperse his speech with Spanish terms. The punctilious Castilian code of honor prevailed among the nobility of most countries; for a trifle, an ambiguous expression, an involuntary push, a sidelong glance, or an unsatisfactory greeting, swords flew out of their scabbards, and men fought by twos, by fours, by sixes. No law could check this fatal rage, which every year cost hundreds of noblemen their lives.

Philosophy and politics were subjects that Spanish authors dared not handle. Any opposition to government policy or measures, no matter how moderate, might cost them years in prison. Books written or printed by heretics, however innocent their contents, were strictly forbidden. Everything, in fact, was forbidden that did not accord with the system of the Inquisition. Thus a free, all-sided development of literature was prevented, and the natural consequence was that it fell into affected ways and forms, and soon ceased to thrive.

The change for the worse in matters military and social was even more significant, but here the fault was not wholly the king's, but largely to be charged to the tendencies and ambitions which, since the close of the fifteenth century, had seized upon the Spanish people (PLATE XXI.).

At that time the Spanish army was not only the best, but also the most numerous in Christendom. It amounted to 140,000 men, at a time when great and decisive battles were fought with 20,000 or 30,000 soldiers on a side. This superiority in numbers, however, was largely offset by the fact that the dominion of Spain over half Europe, as well as parts of America, Asia, and Africa, had to be maintained by numerous garrisons and detached corps. Besides, it was far too large for the already sorely overburdened treasury of the empire. The troops were scantily and irregularly paid; they were sometimes years without receiving their dues; the consequence was that the soldiers grew accustomed to mutiny, to impudence and disobedience toward the officers, and to plundering. By the end of the sixteenth century the Spanish armies had lost much of their old fame and repute. After the disasters of 1588 it was even worse with the fleet, which could not keep the corsairs of

Algiers and Tunis from ravaging the Spanish coast, and carrying thousands of its unfortunate inhabitants into slavery; nor the Dutch from chasing the Spanish flag over all the seas and inflicting incalculable damage on Spanish commerce.

The support of large fleets and armies, and the wasteful wars she carried on in all parts of the world, drained Spain more and more of her gold and her population. The campaigns in the Netherlands alone, up to Philip's death, had cost the Spanish treasury over 110,000,000 ducats, equivalent to \$520,000,000, more than four times the sum of the treasures brought annually from Mexico and Peru. Twice—in 1575 and 1596—the state was actually bankrupt, and the king arbitrarily lowered the rate of interest on the public debt nearly one-half. He even sent monks all over the empire to beg on his behalf. In spite of all these questionable methods to supply his needs, Philip left to his successor a debt of 100,000,000 ducats. To pay the interest on this enormous sum and create a sinking-fund, nearly the whole revenue of the state had to be pledged. The Spaniards themselves said that the gold and silver of America, 260,000,000 ducats from 1531 to 1594, was for them what rain-drops are for the roof; they run down, leaving it dry, and moisten the ground below. The enormous influx of precious metals, which the Spaniards did not know how to utilize for the promotion of their industries, actually increased the price of all products among them, so that they could not compete with the cheaper wares of other lands. The importation of foreign goods was burdened with enormous duties, and even the trade between the different provinces of the peninsula was obstructed by tolls and customs, as well as by the wretched roads for which Spain is even now notorious.

But a worse obstacle still were the various internal taxes imposed by the government. The most intolerable and mischievous of all was the *Alcavala*, a tax of ten per cent. on all sales and exchanges. In the case of commodities that frequently changed owners, it often happened that the money collected by the state in a few years was more than the absolute value of the property taxed. This impost inflicted irretrievable harm on the agricultural prosperity of the land.

It was the ambition of most Spaniards to live like gentlemen, in one respect at least, doing as little work as possible. As a result, fields lay waste, industry was crippled, Italians became the bankers of the country, and its commerce passed into the hands of the French. Not piety alone, but laziness, drove men and women into convents. The clergy, regular and secular, numbered 200,000 men and women, a fortieth part of the population. Half a million—a sixteenth part—were noblemen or gen-

tlemen who would have thought themselves disgraced by condescending to work. Add to these 300,000 soldiers and officials—and most of the latter, having paid dear for their positions, filled them not to serve the state, but to enrich themselves—and one gets an idea of the condition of wretched Spain. Is it a wonder that already by the end of the sixteenth century the country was doomed to decay?

Campanella wrote before Philip's death, "Many people believe that the Spanish empire cannot long endure, as all foreign states are its enemies, its own domains widely separated and disconnected from each other." The worst feature of all was that Castilian rule everywhere worked disturbance and ruin, somewhat as does Turkish. No wonder that all its subjects, even the Aragonese, Catalanian, and Portuguese, felt intense hatred for their masters, and longed to cast off their yoke.

Such was the close of Philip's reign; an utter failure in its foreign policy, in its finances, in its hold upon the people. The king had tried to force Europe back from her progressive course under his reactionary rule; he had in that mad attempt spent the large resources of his hereditary possessions, and yet, with a few exceptions, his attempts had failed, and the prosperity of Spain for centuries to follow had been wrecked. At length even his obstinate narrowness could no longer be blind to the fact of his failure. After the destruction of the Invincible Armada, a sadness settled upon him which increased steadily with his years. His health also was completely broken; after 1591 his gout tortured him almost incessantly, and he suffered besides from permanent abscesses and inflammation.

But what troubled him most in these last years of his life was the lack of a competent successor. He was in part responsible for the weakness of character of his son, afterward Philip III. He had treated him with studied neglect, had allowed his very servants to humiliate him, had kept him in poverty, for the suspicious jealousy of the king never slumbered. So the gentle and retiring temper of the heir-apparent was completely subdued, all individuality and force of will in him broken. Was anything more needed to do this than the awful fate of his brother, Carlos?

Under these unpromising circumstances Philip endeavored at least by the exercise of his utmost political sagacity to make the task of his successor as easy as possible. Before all, he felt that peace must be made with his most dangerous antagonist, Henry IV. of France. The conditions he offered were so favorable to the latter that he did not hesitate to accept them in direct violation of his agreement with his allies of England and the Netherlands; peace was ratified at Vervins on May 12,

1598. Of all their conquests, the Spaniards kept only Cambrai; they yielded six important fortresses on the frontier of the Netherlands, as well as all the places they held in Brittany. So Philip surrendered even the slight gains that his immense expenditures in money and in men for the last fifteen years had brought him in France. Not without reason did the proud Spaniards denounce the Peace of Vervins as inglorious and ruinous.

But with the rebellious Netherlands Philip would not come to terms. His own strength was gone, his hopes and his joys had fled, yet he would not grant peace to this small and once-despised people, whose subjugation had been the unfulfilled task of his whole reign. He would, however, transmit this task to Archduke Albert, younger brother of Emperor Rudolf, who had been educated in Spain, and for whom Philip destined his favorite daughter, Isabella. The archduke was a good-natured, well-meaning gentleman of peaceful temper, but he was not the man fitted to rule over the Netherlands, the insurgent part of which required a gifted and energetic general to reduce them, whilst the loyal portions needed an enlightened and active statesman to help them recover their lost prosperity. In May, 1598, the marriage of Albert and Isabella took place, and the government of the Netherlands was made over to them, but under the control of the Spanish crown.

Soon afterward Philip grew worse. To the last his stoic courage had showed a devotion and piety that would have done honor to a saint. Death came to his release on the morning of September 15, 1598. He was in the seventy-first year of his age and the forty-third of his reign.

However absurd it may seem to us now, to him, as to most Spaniards of his time, it seemed clearly the divine will that the red and gold banner of Castile should be set up over the whole earth by the side of the banner of the cross. To believe otherwise was heresy; to oppose the king's claims was a crime, to punish which all means were justifiable—poison, the dagger, or the executioner's axe. We must not underestimate the results of Philip's efforts in matters of religion. He succeeded in uprooting every trace of Protestantism in Spain. With the assistance of the papacy restored to new vigor, heresy was as completely eradicated in Italy, half of which country was then under Spanish rule. If in Germany and in Poland the Counter-reformation was daily gaining ground, it was in large measure owing to the example, the advice, and the direct support of Philip. He succeeded in restoring Catholicism as the only legal religion in the southern half of the Netherlands, where, no less than in the northern, it had seemed that Calvinism was sure to triumph. It was Philip, moreover, who constrained Henry IV.

to purchase Paris and the crown "with a mass," and thus to maintain Catholicism as the state religion in France. If Catholicism assumed again toward the Reformation a victorious and aggressive attitude, if it recovered important territory once lost and apparently forever, it was to the hand of the recluse of the Escorial that this was due. He was the head, the leader, the champion, and, in truth, the successful champion, of the Catholic reaction.

But in this lay the very cause of the complete failure of his political aims. If we except the case of Portugal, all his plans miscarried and ended disastrously. An exhausted nation; an impaired empire; an enormous debt—this was Philip's legacy to his successor. For a few decades longer the terrible phantom of Spanish power stood upright, though already in reality a body without blood or fresh life; then the nerveless empire under nerveless rulers dropped permanently into a wretched insignificance.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FIRST STUART IN ENGLAND AND THE FIRST BOURBON IN FRANCE.

IT was to Elizabeth, to her statesmen, and to the soldiers and sailors of England that Europe was indebted for the overthrow of Spain's supremacy, the rescue of the Netherlands and of France from Spanish interference, and the staying of the progress of the Counter-reformation. This fact gave the English people a large and influential position in the world, and a proud consciousness of their strength.

The intellectual life of the nation received a mighty impulse from these great events. A literature arose in England, racy, popular, genuinely national as none before. Spenser appears with his "*Faërie Queene*." Doubtless he had Italian models, but that affects only the form of his poem; its real meaning lies in the extolling of the gigantic struggle of the nation on behalf of "*Una*," the true religion, against "*Duessa*," the papacy, and "*Orgoglio*," the hierarchy, and also in the praising of Queen Elizabeth, who is very distinctly meant by the *Faërie Queene Gloriana*, and by the beautiful huntress, *Belphebe*. Elizabeth was then looked upon as the embodiment of the greatness, freedom, and religious independence of England. Above all, Elizabeth's reign is the birth-date of the English drama—a drama which from the first showed a thoroughly English national character both in matter and form—the latter being blank verse, the regular vehicle of English dramatic poetry ever since the appearance of "*Ferrex and Porrex*" (1561). With the development of this national drama the queen had much to do. She encouraged the building at Blackfriars of the first permanent theatre in London (1576); the poets of the day looked upon her as a steady friend. What a group they made! Robert Greene, so nobly endowed and so early lost to literature; Christopher Marlowe, with his rich, exuberant imagination; above all, William Shakspeare (Fig. 153), the greatest dramatist of all times, and also the warmest of patriots. His chosen task was to represent English history in a succession of bold and grand scenes, not calmly as the historian, but from the point of view of a loyal Protestant Englishman of his day, and from it to observe and picture the men and the events of former generations. His historic



To the Reader.

This *Figure*, that thou here seest put,
 It was for gentle *Shakespeare* cut;
 Wherein the *Graver* had a strife
 With *Nature*, to out-doe the *Life* :
 O, could he but have drawn his *Wit*
 As well in *Brasse*, as he has hit
 His *Face* ; the *Print* would then surpass
 All, that wasever writ in *Brasse*.
 But since he cannot, *Reader*, look
 Not on his *Picture*, but his *Book*.

B. J.

FIG. 153. William Shakspeare. Reduced facsimile of the engraving by Martin Droeshout in the first collected edition of Shakspeare's works (1623). The verses below the portrait are by Ben Jonson.

dramas were by far the most popular of his works and the most eagerly imitated. Under Elizabeth's fostering care the drama so flourished that by the beginning of the seventeenth century there were no fewer than eleven theatres in London and its suburbs. Numerous dramatists followed the example of Shakspeare—popular Ben Jonson, the gifted pair, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Philip Massinger, whose comedies are still represented, besides many others whose works were the delight of their contemporaries, but whose very names are now almost forgotten. The intense activity which then possessed the English people fitted them to take a keen interest in the vigorous representations of life upon the boards.

But this powerful, self-conscious, thoroughly patriotic generation took great delight also in classical antiquity. The queen herself had studied and loved Greek and Roman literature from her youth. Besides his popular comedies, Jonson wrote tragedies after the Roman pattern. At Burleigh's request, Camden wrote in Latin a history of Elizabeth's reign, based throughout on official documents, to which he had free access; his work, though composed in a strongly royalist spirit, is temperate and generally trustworthy. He was only one of a numerous circle of earnest and diligent students. Prominent among them was Francis Bacon of Verulam, whose remarkable career, beginning under Queen Elizabeth, was to continue and end under her successor. This great genius, creative as well as comprehensive, who, in his work "On the Advancement of Learning," furnished a model of an encyclopaedia in the best sense of the term, became, by the publication of his *Novum Organum*, the father of modern scientific methods.

In the latter years of her reign, Elizabeth was surrounded by a brilliant circle of statesmen. There were, besides Lord Burleigh (died 1598), his younger son, Robert Cecil, Burleigh's equal in activity and thorough knowledge of affairs, but not in largeness of views; Sir Edward Coke, attorney-general of the crown, the most learned and distinguished jurist of his day; Sir Walter Raleigh, navigator, scholar, poet—a genius in none of these spheres, but brilliant in them all—of character far inferior to his abilities; Sir Philip Sidney, an accomplished courtier, soldier, scholar, and a writer of sonnets after the Spanish and Italian fashion then current.

But none of these stood so near the queen as Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (born 1567). Introduced to her by his stepfather, Leicester, he became, after the latter's death, his successor as the queen's favorite. He was then a youth of twenty-one, with charming knightly manners. There could, naturally, be no question of love on his part; he meant to turn the queen's weakness to account for his own aggrandizement and

PLATE XXII.



Queen Elizabeth of England.

Reduced facsimile of an engraving by Crispin van Pass (circa 1560-1630), from the painting by Isaac Olivier (1556-1617).

fame. But in this he found a dangerous enemy in Robert Cecil. This cunning humpback, who never forgave an opponent, became Essex's deadly foe, and all who envied the good-fortune of the favorite rallied around him.

The last fifteen years of the reign of Elizabeth (PLATE XXII.) are like the epilogue of a great drama; the interest slackens because all the important points at issue are settled. The heroine of the play, the queen herself, steps back and yields the management of affairs to ambitious young men that divide her court into rival factions, mortally hating each other; on one side the adherents of Essex, on the other those of Cecil. Unfortunately for the former, his talents were far inferior to his lofty pretensions. His warlike expeditions against the Spaniards had no permanent results. Moreover, thinking himself sure of the people's good-will, and able to dispense with the queen's affection, he began to treat her with arrogance, almost with contempt. In a moment of frenzy, caused by this conduct, she gave him a slap in the face in the presence of her court; the proud nobleman threateningly clapped his hand to his sword, turned his back upon her, and left her presence. A show of reconciliation took place, but the queen thought it best to send him away for a while, and appointed him to a command in Ireland.

For in the year 1594 a new rebellion had broken out, wilder and more dangerous than any before, under Hugh O'Neil, who had been made Earl of Tyrone. The English suffered a terrible defeat at Blackwater, and four-fifths of the island was, in consequence, lost to them. Essex, who had been exceedingly outspoken in criticising the management of the war, was entrusted in 1599 with the command of a new expedition against the rebels. But he, as well as his officers and soldiers, soon tired of ingloriously chasing wild Irishmen hither and thither, and on his own responsibility he concluded a disgraceful armistice, which left the English crown a mere shadow of sovereignty, and gave the Irish substantial independence. His ambition was to give up Ireland for a while and enter upon a great war against Spain, in which both laurels and treasure could be obtained. Against Elizabeth's express command, Essex returned to London to persuade her to adopt his plan. The queen, highly indignant at his presumption, deprived him of all his offices and ordered him under arrest in his own house. He held out a few months, and then, finding that Elizabeth would not restore him to favor, tried, trusting in his popularity, to raise a riot against her, but failed completely. He was tried for high treason, and Bacon, though he had formerly received great favors and kindnesses from Essex, did not scruple to devote his talents to secure his conviction. Elizabeth hesitated a few days before

signing the sentence of death, hoping he would humble himself before her and sue for pardon, in which case she would have inflicted a lighter penalty. But Essex would not resort to such a step, and on February 25, 1601, was beheaded.

The people and the army mourned for him and there was profound indignation against his enemies, even against the queen herself. She felt this keenly, as she did other signs that the public feeling in her realm was turning away from her, that a new age with new tendencies and interests had come forward. As she saw herself unloved and uncared for in her old age, the thought of Essex, whom she had so tenderly loved, and whose political views she now recognized as correct, pressed upon her more and more. She often spoke of him with tears. She fell into a state of melancholy that grew more and more morbid as her strength decreased. She spent her time sighing and weeping, refused for days at a time to partake of nourishment, lay in apathy on her pillow, courting sleep in vain. She died on the morning of April 3, 1603.

Such was the sad and unworthy end of one of the most powerful and influential rulers known to history. It had been hers to mark definitely England's future course. The Reformation begun by her father she had completed and permanently established. She had won the first great naval victories of England, and thus laid the foundation for England's supremacy on the sea. It was owing to her that by the side of the two great Catholic states of France and Spain, two great Protestant powers took their places—with increasing power and influence—England and the United Provinces. If the Protestant element has assumed an independent and, indeed, preponderating position in general European politics, it is mainly due to the wisdom and energy of Queen Elizabeth and her counselors.

The last Tudor was succeeded without serious opposition by a great-grandson of a sister of Henry VIII., James VI. of Scotland, who, as the first of a new, foreign dynasty, the Scotch Stuarts, assumed on his accession to the throne the name of James I. of England (Fig. 154).

He had few things in common with his great predecessor. He was thoroughly educated—a savant, indeed; he had studied theology with special interest, and thought that in this field no one could equal him. But his culture had a touch of pedantry, and his air was rather that of a schoolmaster than of a king. However profoundly he was persuaded of his wisdom and impatient of all contradiction, he was wholly lacking in fixedness of purpose. He was extravagant in his gifts to his favorites, fond of show, incapable of wise economy, and consequently always in need of money. These defects stood in glaring contrast with his claims



FIG. 154.—James I., King of England. Painting of the Flemish school of the seventeenth century. (Madrid.)

to what he called kingcraft, political sagacity, and skill. This kingcraft consisted almost exclusively in duplicity and falsehood. In Scotland he had forced upon Presbyterians a board of bishops, not essentially different, it must be granted, from their former superintendents; he had held out to the pope and to Spain a prospect of his conversion to Catholicism if they would facilitate his accession to the English throne; he had secret relations with the English Puritans and with Essex, which, however, did not prevent him from receiving an annual pension from the queen, and assuring her of his profound devotion and loyalty; during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign he had, at the same time, been in secret communication with her ministers and with Cecil's mortal enemies, Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Cobham.

The greater the difficulties with which his turbulent Scotch subjects troubled him, the loftier, seemingly, was the idea he entertained of the rights and of the theoretical power of royalty, especially after he had set upon his head the "imperial crown" of England and Ireland. In his work, "*Basilicon Doron*" ("the king's present"), written for the instruction of his first-born son, he literally calls the ruler a "demigod." The mystic conception of the divine right of kings was so closely interwoven with all his views that he, greatly to his detriment, overlooked the practical aspect of it. He looked upon his authority as similar to the absolute power of the kings of France and of Spain; his ideal was the despotism which the Spanish monarch exercised, and, in consequence, he always had a secret liking for Spain.

He was immoderately fond of the pleasures of the table; he often was seen drunk, his head resting on the board. He was quick to anger, easily lost his self-control, and then cursed and swore in a most unroyal manner. He was not fond of state affairs, and readily left the management of them to his favorites. Elizabeth had won no slight part of her popularity by showing herself frequently to her subjects and mingling with them freely; James, on the contrary, avoided, as far as he could, any intercourse with the people, and drove bold petitioners out of his presence with loud words of scorn. Englishmen felt that their king had no sympathy with the religious and political aspirations of the immense majority of his subjects. Here is the key to the understanding of the whole destiny of the Stuart dynasty in England. All its representatives always preferred their own advantage to that of the nation. To secure the slightest personal aims, the Stuarts never hesitated to enter into treasonable relations with the hereditary enemies of England, with the Spaniards first, then with the French. Although more than nine-tenths of their subjects were staunch Protestants, although the number of Catholics

was constantly decreasing, they showed ever-increasing tendencies toward Catholicism. In both directions the Stuarts failed utterly: in their antagonism to the national preferences and political tendencies of the English nation, no less than in their efforts to encourage Catholicism.

Yet, at first, it seemed as if these Stuarts were called to do great things for Europe. To them it was given to accomplish in a peaceful way, without drawing a sword, the great work which the powerful house of Plantagenets, and later Henry VIII., had striven in vain to perform, the union of the two divided and hostile halves of Great Britain. How often had the Scots withstood the English armies that invaded and wasted their territory! How often had they made common cause with England's worst enemies! All this was now at an end; united under a common sovereign, England and Scotland would now face foreign powers together. To be sure, the inner feelings of the two nations did not at all comport with this purely accidental union. The Scots grudged England her pre-eminence in numbers, culture, industry and prosperity; the English despised their poorer and ruder neighbors, and, with intense dislike, saw them promoted to a number of influential posts at the court of James I. But these were unavoidable evils of a period of transition; co-operation toward the same great political ends would certainly in time bring the two parts of the Anglo-Saxon race into even closer union, and, out of the England and Scotland of old, make one Great Britain. One hundred years later, after the fall of the Stuarts, this desired end was actually reached.

James abandoned at once the bold and popular national policy of Elizabeth. His strongest desire was to conclude peace with Catholic and despotic Spain, and on August 28, 1604, a treaty was concluded, greatly to Spain's advantage. James bound himself to afford no aid of any kind to the "rebels" in the Netherlands; he pledged himself, in case the latter did not come to an understanding with Spain, to surrender to the Spaniards the towns which the English held in the Netherlands, as surety for money furnished the States-General. Nothing short of James's belief in the divine right of kings, which made him look upon the Hollanders, bravely struggling for political and religious freedom, simply as rebels and traitors, and the successful bribing of Sir Robert Cecil by the Spanish government, can explain so shameful a peace.

It caused intense dissatisfaction in England, where the people felt the keenest sympathy for the Dutch. The glorious age of Elizabeth had finally passed away. Still the Spaniards did not reap from this peace all the advantages they had hoped. They found in their way an old

opponent, facing them with more determination than ever—Henry IV. of France (PLATE XXIII.).

Henry IV. had skilfully put an end to the civil wars which had desolated France for more than thirty years. But this was but the beginning of the task before him. Two different tendencies strove still to limit and utilize the royal authority: the aristocratic and the religious. The great nobles could not forget that they had been practically independent princes during the religious wars; the Huguenots and Catholics would not give up their mutual enmity, and both distrusted a monarch that seemed too exclusively Catholic to the former, and too lukewarm to the latter. Henry met these different opponents with different methods. With quick penetration he saw that the selfish nobility had no deep hold on the nation, but that religious convictions had, and he shaped his conduct in consequence. To the recalcitrant nobles he was inexorable; but between the extreme religious parties he sought to hold a middle course, an extremely difficult attempt, no doubt, but one in which he was in the main successful.

By making great concessions he succeeded in reconciling the Huguenots to his policy, but it was only after prolonged negotiations, distinct threats, and even a temporary estrangement of the Protestants that the king finally gained his point, and, on April 15, 1598, signed the famous Edict of Nantes.

This document ushers in a new epoch in the religious history, which heretofore had consisted almost wholly of records of intolerance and persecutions. For the first time an attempt was made to place on an equal footing the subjects of the same state, belonging to different confessions. Though, as a matter of fact, the Reformed derived the most advantage from the edict, it had been most skilfully devised so as to deal as impartially as possible with both religious parties.

The Catholic religion, it declared, was to be reinstated everywhere, even in districts and towns hitherto exclusively Protestant, and all church estates seized by the Calvinists were to be restored. On the other hand, Protestants were to be allowed to reside in all parts of the kingdom, "and the exercise of their worship was authorized in all cities and places where such worship had been held on several occasions, in the years 1596 and 1597, up to the month of August, and in all places in which worship had been, or ought to have been established, in accordance with the edict of 1577. But in addition to these, a fresh gift of a second city in every bailiwick and *sénéchaussée* of the kingdom, greatly increased the facilities enjoyed by the scattered Huguenots for reaching the assemblies of their fellow-believers."



Henry IV., King of France.

Painting by François Porbus the younger (1570-1622). Paris, Louvre. From a photograph.

History of All Nations, Vol. XI, page 424.

“To Protestant noblemen enjoying the right of haute-justice . . . permission was granted to have religious services on all occasions, and for all comers, at their principal residence, as well as on other lands, whenever they themselves were present. Noblemen of inferior jurisdiction were allowed to have worship on their estates, but only for themselves and families.” No Huguenot worship was to be allowed, either at court or in Paris, or at any point within five miles of the capital. The Huguenots continued in possession of two hundred fortified places, many of them important strongholds, and garrisoned them with their own men. They retained also their political and religious organization in provincial and general assemblies and synods. They had, however, to concede the right of the king to appoint the commanders of the above-mentioned fortresses, and to permit or refuse the convocation of assemblies; this established for the first time the principle of the king’s authority over the Huguenot organization.

The higher nobility found it hard to submit to the rule of a really strong king. The governor of Burgundy, the Duke de Biron, who owed his high position solely to Henry’s favor, turned traitor against him. Anger at some fancied slight, the desire to play an important part in his country’s history, the hope of making himself independent, led the proud, overbearing, adventurous soldier to open secret negotiations with the hereditary foes of France, the Spaniards, and Charles Emmanuel of Savoy. He counted on the help of many other great nobles, as well as on that of the strict Catholic party, whose leadership he had assumed. He entered into an agreement with Spain and Savoy, which contemplated nothing less than the breaking up of France into a number of independent states, under the suzerainty of a weak elective king, the handing of Marseilles over to the Spaniards, and his own elevation to the hereditary duchy of Burgundy (1600). He won adherents to his scheme among the clergy, the judiciary, the lower nobility, and even among the Huguenots. Spain and Savoy gave money, and promised other aid. A general and destructive rebellion threatened to undo all of Henry’s work.

Learning of the plot by a lucky accident, Henry baffled it with prudence and determination. Biron surrendered himself without resistance. The king determined to make of this high-born traitor a terrible example that should insure quiet to the state and a peaceful succession to his heirs. Everyone should see that the days of unpunished rebellion were over. Biron was sentenced to death by the Parlement, and executed in the court of the Bastille, July 31, 1602. A number of his inferior tools suffered the same penalty, but Henry thought it safe and wise to pardon the

nobler accomplices. Not a single hand had been raised in the kingdom either to defend or to avenge Biron. Henceforth the triumph of monarchy was assured.

Henry having won most of the Huguenots by the Edict of Nantes, sought to placate the zealots among the Catholics by the recall of the Jesuits (1603). For this action he had several reasons: he wished to ingratiate himself with the pope, who had long been making overtures to him; he desired also to avail himself of the services of that powerful and able body for the furtherance of his own political ends. One of their number, unctuous and prudent Father Cotton, became his court-preacher and confessor. Throughout France a religious revival occurred; numerous cloisters were founded. The moral and intellectual regeneration of the French clergy dates from the days of Henry IV. Gone to decay under the strictly orthodox Valois, it began to recover its former zeal, morality, and learning under the skeptic Bourbon.

The blessings of a firm royal government were manifest on all sides. The French people were heartily tired of butchering one another at the behest of ambitious nobles or fanatical monks. There was not a family that had not lost some member; not a district that had not been subjected to rapine and bloodshed. Only a strong royal arm could prevent the return of such calamities. Hence, all the plots of bigoted Spain were unavailing; Henry's great ability, the extent of his power, the profound desire for peace that all France felt, rendered all attempts at rebellion hopeless. The superficial aspects of Henry's character, his wit, his amiability, his gaiety, had for a while misled the world in its estimate of him, but from the first he had formed a firm resolve to resume and carry through the work of centralization begun by his predecessors and interrupted by the civil wars. And now Leaguers and Huguenots must obey, however reluctantly. Their leaders, whose favor the king had for years been obliged to court, were taught by the terrible fate of Biron and his accomplices and became thoroughly submissive.

Less harshly, but no less resolutely, did Henry meet all popular attempts to set limits to his authority. He never summoned the States-General. He confirmed the privileges of provincial estates that still existed in a number of districts, especially in the south, only on condition that they should be loyal and obedient and should in no wise remonstrate against the burdens imposed upon them. City governments were also forced to submit implicitly. The king sought to reduce all authority not immediately dependent upon the crown to a mere shadow and to transfer all real power to royal agents.

His fondness for the chase and other less innocent pleasures did not

interfere with his attention to public affairs. No decision, however unimportant, was taken without his consent. His vigorous constitution and his tremendous energy allowed him to work uninterruptedly without fatigue. Besides, he was in his thinking as in his acting an independent man. His education had been slight, but his quick perception, his mental activity, and his good memory made up for his lack of culture. Every

B

Je vous esveys mes cheres amours des p^{res}
des p^{res} de v^{re} peynture, que j'adore
seul^{em}ent pour ce quelle est fayte
pour vous non quelle vous resamble
Jan puy estre juge competant, vous
ayant peynte an toute perfectyon
dans mon ame, dans mon ame dans
mon cœur, dans mes yers,

FIG. 155.—Facsimile of a note from Henry IV. to Gabrielle d'Estrées. Original in Paris, National Library. (From de Xivrey.)

one of his subjects had access to him ; on his travels he loved to converse with people of all classes, and thus make himself acquainted with the condition and wants of all the population of his realm. His readiness of speech won him friends ; he had a bright answer for everyone. Even his serious moral delinquencies seem to have contributed to his popularity.

He had practically separated from his first wife, Margaret of Valois, whose morality was no purer than his. His fickle heart was finally won

and kept by Gabrielle d'Estrées (Fig. 155), "Fair Gabrielle," as her royal lover called her. The king made her Duchess of Beaufort, showered riches upon her, and would have married her if he could have obtained a divorce from his wife. But Margaret steadily refused to resign her place to Henry's mistress. Fortunately for the peace and prosperity of the kingdom, Gabrielle died suddenly in April, 1599. Queen Margaret now consented to be divorced, and Henry married soon afterward Maria de' Medici (Fig. 156), niece of the Grand Duke of Tuscany (PLATE XXIV.). She brought him health and strength, a large dowry, and the friendship of the pope. In September, 1601, she gave him a son and heir, the future Louis XIII. All France rejoiced at this birth, which seemed to insure the country against the dreaded horrors of a war of succession.

But Henry had taken a wife simply for reasons of state; his marriage changed nothing in his habits, so notoriously licentious. His favorite mistress, during the period immediately following it, was the wanton and intriguing Henriette d'Entraignes, who bore him several children, and whom he made Marchioness of Verneuil. Naturally, these intrigues of the king led to frequent quarrels with his wife, but fortunately not to an open breach.

The religious and moral impulse which the revival of knowledge, and more especially the reform movement, had brought to the France of the sixteenth century, was fast disappearing under an ever-growing materialism. The grand characteristics of that age were passing away; wealth, power, enjoyment were the watchwords of the new generation. It cannot honestly be denied that to this result Henry's character contributed much. He paved the way for Louis XIV. and Louis XV., not in politics alone, but also in morals and manners. The good and the evil of French monarchical centralization were bound up in the personality of Henry IV., only he was more economical and better-intentioned than his grandson and his grandson's successor.

A much more favorable aspect of his reign is that offered by his internal administration. He knew how to appoint the right men to the right places, and was ever ready to accept their suggestions. Yet he was the real originator of nearly all the best that was done—not his minister Sully, who in his memoirs attributes far too large a merit to himself. In the king's clear and systematic brain, plans arranged themselves in a comprehensive and connected whole, which his energetic will soon realized by decided and far-reaching deeds.

Maximilien de Béthune, Baron de Rosny, made Duke of Sully in 1606, was a man of thorough education, but not a creative genius. Out-

PLATE XXIV.



Marriage of Henry IV. of France and Maria de' Medici.

Reduced facsimile of an engraving by A. Trouvain from a painting by Peter Paul Rubens (Luxembourg Gallery). In the ceremony here depicted, which took place at Florence, Henry was represented by his proxy, Bellegarde.

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FIG. 156. Maria de' Medici. Painting by Francis Porbus the younger (1570-1622). (Madrid.)

side of his able management of the king's artillery, his merit lay exclusively in the department of finance. Two words suffice to describe the character of his administration: close and scrupulous supervision over public functionaries; inaccessibility to the influences of courtiers and would-be financiers. These guiding principles, aided by long years of peace, by the fertility of the soil of France, its thorough cultivation, the intelligence and thrift of its inhabitants, enabled him to work wonders. Personally, Sully was universally disliked for his rough, harsh, arrogant manners and his absurd self-complacency.

Foreign affairs Henry kept under his own sole direction. His two principal ministers, or secretaries, Villeroy and Jeannin, had an altogether subordinate position and influence. Henry chose his servants with great shrewdness. They were men of different parties—but extremists he never would employ—and thus no party could feel itself neglected. Their very divergent views assured him full freedom of action. None of his ministers was of such rank as to be or even consider himself entitled to special consideration independently of the king's favor. Each of them was a man of acknowledged capacity in his peculiar field, but none of them was a commanding, comprehensive genius. With such a body of ministers, a monarch of Henry's ability and force had no difficulty in retaining the reins.

One of his first cares was, by strict laws inexorably executed, to restore order and safety in a land that had been long exposed to the horrors of war, and was still exposed to the violence and robberies of disbanded soldiers and idle and rapacious nobles. Thieves, whether of high or low degree, were unrelentingly hanged. The political independence of the nobles was annulled; the great families—even those of royal blood—as far as possible had their power and resources reduced to limits compatible with the safety of the state; the provincial governors, who had heretofore been more like little kings, were given lieutenant-generals, men on whom the king could count, to keep them in check. The levying of troops without the king's sanction, the manufacture of gunpowder outside of royal factories, and the keeping of ordnance except by royal warrant, were forbidden, and with excellent results. The police was reorganized and made more efficient. The judiciary was greatly improved. All these changes were felt to be for the interest of the whole country and were universally approved. On the other hand, in his eager desire to increase the revenues of the crown without burdening the people, Henry was led to introduce a pernicious innovation. For a considerable time already appointments to places in the departments of justice and of finance had been bought, but they could not be sold by the purchaser

or transferred by will. At the suggestion of Charles Paulet, his finance counselor, the king in 1604 issued a decree that these offices could become hereditary and transferable by the annual payment of a sum equal to one and two-thirds per cent. of the last purchase money. This decree, in spite of the care taken to grant appointments only to men properly qualified by character and by learning, worked great mischief, as do generally all monopolies and special privileges. Judges sought compensation for the considerable annual tax levied on them by exacting high perquisites, protracting lawsuits, sometimes even by the acceptance of bribes. They looked less at the general good of the public than at the furtherance of their own interests, or, at best, at the aggrandizement of their body, from which they jealously excluded ambitious candidates of the poorer classes.

The temptation to which Henry had yielded in passing this mischievous law was certainly a great one, and this may palliate the severity of our judgment. The public debt amounted to not less than 348,500,000 livres—equal to over \$500,000,000 to-day—whilst the total revenues were about 30,000,000 livres, scarcely more than the twelfth part of the debt. By economy, order and strict supervision, Sully, whilst diminishing the people's burden, brought up the net income to 39,000,000 livres, which allowed a surplus of 18,000,000 annually. This surplus was used in extinguishing a part of the debt, in buying back a part of the royal domains that had been mortgaged, and in accumulating a large fund for war purposes. Yet large sums were spent in public improvements and in relieving victims of various catastrophes. What a contrast to Spain! There inextricable disorder, chronic deficits, from time to time bankruptcy more or less public, universal distress; here regularity, punctual payment of creditors, large surplus, ample means to meet unforeseen outlays.

"Agriculture and cattle-breeding are the two breasts that nourish France, and the real mines and treasures of Peru," said Sully, and both he and the king acted accordingly. The peasant was protected by special legislation; all wrong done him was severely punished. The decrease of direct taxation, the closer supervision of the commissioners of taxes, left the cultivator means to feed himself more suitably and till his fields better. The reign of Henry was long considered as the peasant's golden age, one to which men looked back longingly as if then "the fields were more fertile, meadows of a richer green, and trees bore larger crops of fruits." With an economical insight far in advance of his time, Henry, against the opposition of prejudice and local greed, authorized the free exportation of breadstuffs. This led speedily to a large and remunerative trade, especially with Northern Spain.

If during the next hundred years France could lay claim to holding the foremost position among European nations, she owed it above all to Henry's beneficent reign.

At the close of the civil wars, French industry was even more thoroughly prostrate than agriculture. The imports of foreign goods were quite large, especially costly fabrics; the exports almost nothing. In the eager and steady encouragement that Henry afforded to industry, he had both moral and practical objects in mind: the improvement of the condition of the lower classes, the diminution of turbulence, the elevation of France to a fitting rank among the peoples of Europe, the enrichment of the country. He first relieved the smaller industries of their most oppressive restraints—though the time, he thought, and probably justly, had not yet come to grant perfect industrial freedom. He invited to his realm large numbers of foreign workmen and granted them naturalization on very easy terms. He established in Paris a supreme chamber of commerce, and provincial chambers in the rest of France. From his system of allowing every energy in the nation the freest possible play, France reaped the best results, and the king himself derived a large income, which he used liberally to encourage native industries. In a few years numerous and varied manufactures arose. Among other things he did for France was the creation of the silk industry that is so important a source of wealth to the nation.

Henry recognized fully the necessity of commercial interchange to encourage and improve production, and so did his best to create and improve means of communication. Sully, appointed grand roadmaster of France, prepared a comprehensive plan for the laying out of public roads; and not the general government alone, but provinces, communes, and even private individuals united in carrying it out. This restless and universal activity had excellent results. France was soon intersected by superb highways and waterways which became a model for all Europe. Commerce naturally flowed in rapidly increasing volume in these numerous channels. Numerous commercial treaties protected French trade and French traders in foreign lands, even in Turkey, where they enjoyed special privileges. Consuls established at important points watched for the interests of their countrymen and over their conduct. The king insisted that his subjects at sea should respect laws and obligations, and did his best to extirpate piracy. French ship-owners and merchants eagerly availed themselves of the openings before them; besides their own ventures, they carried on an extensive commission business for foreign traders. Marseilles was their chief seaport, and became, after the decadence of Venice and Antwerp, the chief emporium of Europe.

L'ADMIRABLE DESSEIN DE LA PORTE ET PLACE DE FRANCE AVEC SE
LE REGNE DE HENRY LE GRAND 4^U DV NOM ROY DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARR



View of the "Place de France"

Reduced facsimile of a contemporary copper-plate engraving issued by

XXV.

LES COMMENCEES À CONSTRUIRE ES MARETTES DU TEMPLE A PARIS DVRENT
L'AN DE GRACE MIL SIX CENS ET DIX PAR CLAUDE CHASTILLON CHALONNOIS



Paris, as designed by Henry IV.

On le Clerc in Paris. Below is the letter-press description of the same.

The precarious condition of French finances at the close of the civil wars led Henry to reduce his standing army to the least size compatible with safety, but on such a system that, if necessary, it might be rapidly increased and mobilized. By sagacious management he brought that system to such a degree of efficiency that in 1610, with a standing army of not more than 20,000, he yet could in a few weeks take the field with a well-equipped force of nearly 100,000 men. And these men were nearly all Frenchmen. During the religious wars, both parties had fought their battles largely with the aid of mercenaries, Swiss, Germans, Spaniards. Henry put an end to this practice, and may thus be considered as the real creator of the national infantry of France. The feudal character of the army entirely disappeared. Even in the cavalry, Henry made himself almost wholly independent of the brave but insubordinate and unreliable nobles, and replaced them by a paid French soldiery. In the military institutions of France, as in all others, he thus laid the foundations on which his country's supremacy was to rise.



FIG. 157.—The Tuileries and the gallery of the Louvre under Henry IV. From a contemporary engraving. (Lacroix.)

The same forethought that he manifested for the prosperity and security of his subjects, he showed also for their health. He was the first to try to introduce air and light into the chaos of the streets of Paris by enacting police ordinances that strictly forbade some of the worst of the old abuses, and by vigorously urging the alignment of streets wherever possible. On the site of the old royal residence of the Tournelles he laid out the Place Royale (cf. PLATE XXV.), which was considered by contemporaries a marvel of spaciousness and beauty. He constructed the second stone bridge over the Seine, the Pont Neuf, and

connected it with a network of streets on the left bank. He built the façade of the Hôtel de Ville (City Hall), burnt in 1871, the great gallery between the Louvre and the Tuileries (Fig. 157), the Pavillon of Flora, besides numerous royal residences at Fontainebleau, St. Germain-en-Laye, etc. He gave the architects of his time great opportunities to distinguish themselves. But the art of the Renaissance was past its meridian; it had reached it under Henry II., when flourished Philibert Delorme, who designed the Tuileries, and who has left us in his castles and residences the best models of Renaissance architecture. After him it rapidly deteriorated, trying to supply the creative ideas it lacked by a pretence of massiveness and huge solidity. A false simplicity and sham majesty drove out the richly but artistically ornate style of the sixteenth century.

The University and the Collège de France, almost ruined by the civil war, were reorganized and improved. The famous Protestant scholar, Casaubon, was made chief manager of the royal library, which the king had saved from destruction and considerably enlarged. Many French and foreign savants and men of letters were given presents and pensions, an example which Louis XIV. afterward eagerly followed. These favors had good results. The French philologists, Joseph Scaliger, Mercier des Bordes, and Casaubon, were the foremost in Europe. The love of antiquity was yet strong among the men of that generation. Peter Pithou, an ornament of the profession of jurists, published his *Læ Visigothorum*, and triumphantly defended the Gallican Church against the attacks of the Ultramontanes. As was natural in an epoch so rich in eventful actions, historical writing was most zealously and successfully pursued. Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, distinguished as a valiant soldier and as a writer of caustic satires in the style of Juvenal, wrote the "History of his Times," from the standpoint of an ardent Huguenot; in the plain but vigorous style, full of poetic glow, one may almost hear the clash of arms in the civil wars. Quite different is the work of Jacques Auguste de Thou, the learned and liberal parliament counselor, whose patient temper and almost utter freedom from sectarian narrowness made him a special favorite with Henry IV. His great work is still the most valuable source of information on the second half of the sixteenth century and the first years of the seventeenth. His impartiality, his love of truth, his constant endeavor to found his narration on authentic documents, are worthy of high praise, especially if we consider the time in which he lived. But his Latin "Histories" are not to be compared in literary value and in originality with the work of d'Aubigné.

In poetry a real revolution occurred. There can be no doubt that

the epoch of Henry IV. laid the foundation on which the whole of the later poetry of France was built up. The new school, with Malherbe for its leader, prevailed over the writers who still followed in the steps of Marot, Rabelais, and Ronsard. Instead of portraying French life as it really was—bold, open, unpolished, and even rough, but always fresh, genuine, gay—Malherbe and his followers depict, in their poetry, courtly, refined characters, who have taste and are exemplary in their behavior, but who, unfortunately, are devoid of originality, vigor, sincerity, and truthfulness. François de Malherbe did much for the improvement of regular versification, for purity of style and language, and for the beauty of poetical form, and his services in these respects should not be overlooked; but he was no poet, and his lack of originality, wit, and imagination, and the excessive importance he attached to elegance and finish of form, had a pernicious influence over the whole of the so-called classic period of French literature.

The new school did not secure recognition without a struggle. At the head of its opponents we find the foremost poet of his day, Mathurin Régnier. He restricted himself almost entirely to satire, but in this field of literature his work is so excellent that it will never be forgotten. His was an original and creative talent. Bold and vigorous, sometimes even to excess, he was the determined foe of Malherbe's courtly conventional poetry.

The novel, perhaps we should say the romance, literature was represented during Henry's reign by a work which for a whole century afforded delight to the better classes, the "*Astrée*" of Honoré d'Urfé, a pastoral romance in the style of Guarini's "*Pastor Fido*." To understand the enthusiasm of that age for those productions, which appear to us so insipid, we must remember that except tales of chivalry and a few satirical romances, there were then no comprehensive stories of a romantic nature; and certainly the pastoral is a decided improvement on the tale of chivalry.

The drama, which had in the latter part of the sixteenth century sunk into stupidity and coarseness, was raised to a somewhat higher level by Alexandre Hardy. The main merit of this extraordinarily fruitful writer, whose imagination was far from equal to his industry, is that of having revived the interest of the public in the drama. Under his influence, dating from 1600, the first two permanent theatres in Paris were erected, soon to be followed by others in the principal provincial cities. Hardy formed a public for Corneille and Racine.

From this universal influence of Henry IV. over his own and the subsequent generations, it is clearly seen that he was less the "good

king" whom tradition loves to recall, than the great ruler, the excellent administrator, the eminent statesman, and the great soldier. His foreign policy consisted in remaining strictly on the defensive till by his firm, beneficent administration, he had succeeded in obliterating the last traces of the civil war, contenting himself, meanwhile, with baffling all plots against him, with weaving prudently his diplomatic intrigues, and with encouraging everywhere the enemies of the Hapsburg dynasty. But behind this there was the inflexible purpose of having some day a reckoning with Spain, that hereditary foe of France, hitherto too strong for her, which for a hundred years had defeated her in diplomacy and on the battlefield, had deprived her of her Italian provinces, and had brought upon her the woes and terrors of civil and religious war.

We must not apply to his conduct an inflexible rule of moral right. He belonged to his time, though in many respects he was in advance of it. He had put before himself an object, from the pursuit of which he never swerved, however crooked his ways may sometimes appear to us—he was determined to establish the supremacy of France in Europe.

One could hardly conceive a greater contrast than that which existed then between Spain and France. The former, with a sway extending over enormous territories, but within disunited and weak; the latter of comparatively restricted size, but compact and centralized. The peninsula, shut by natural barriers to all vivifying influences from without, isolated at the very extremity of Europe; France, in the heart of the west, welcoming over her open frontiers the culture of other nations; Spain, with her resources gradually failing, France, on the contrary, full of fresh and growing vigor; the former anxiously cleaving to the old order of things, the latter eagerly working at her own complete political renovation; Spain, the representative of fanatical religious oppression, France of the largest possible toleration. Everything made a struggle between these two unavoidable, rendered anything like peace between them utterly impossible. Each was constantly bent upon raising difficulties in the other's way. France, in spite of the Peace of Vervins and of the just remonstrances of Spain, still assisted the Dutch with money and troops; Spain retaliated by encouraging all French malcontents, providing them with money, fomenting incessantly new conspiracies against the peace of her neighbor. Henry, on the other hand, did not hesitate to negotiate with the disaffected Moriscos, and, to stir them to rebellion against Spain, to promise them the aid of France.

Yet the only time after the Peace of Vervins when Henry drew the sword was in 1600, to chastise the Duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel, who refused to surrender to France the county of Saluzzo, that was hers

by right. In a few weeks he had conquered Savoy and its dependencies. Peace was concluded at Lyons, January 17, 1601, on somewhat surprising conditions. The cause of the war, Saluzzo, with a few heretofore French towns on the eastern side of the Alps, was ceded to the duke, who gave up in return the Savoyese districts between Geneva and Lyons.

This exchange was a mistake on the part of Henry. To be sure, what he gained was six times more populous than what he surrendered; it rounded out the frontier of France at an important point, added the valley of the Middle Rhone to the territory of France, and brought her into immediate connection with her allies, the Swiss cantons. On the other hand, by surrendering Saluzzo, the king gave up the last possession of France in Italy, and this at a time when his Spanish rival ruled over half of the peninsula. It was a virtual relinquishment of all interference in Italian affairs.

But this was but temporary; for Savoy, the results of the Peace of Lyons were of lasting importance. The duke had given up a district French in language and sympathies, and open to attacks from France, and obtained in exchange a smaller territory lying beyond the Alps and inhabited by Italians. Savoy ceased to be a mere annex of France, and henceforth looked to Italy for expansion. It is true that Charles Emmanuel, against Henry's desire, made one more attempt to enlarge his dominions by adding to it French elements, but the famous "Geneva Escalade" of December 22, 1602, resulted in complete failure, and the duke, forsaken once more by his Spanish ally, Philip III., threw himself unreservedly into the arms of France, thus helping Henry to retrieve his error in giving up Saluzzo. Thenceforth Piedmont bent all its energies and all its ambition to increase its possessions and influence in Italy.

Savoy-Piedmont was not the only Italian state that was won over by Henry's wise policy. His mediation between Paul V. and Venice (1606 and 1607) secured to him the friendship of the latter, and soon afterward that of Mantua and Tuscany. Spain's iniquitous and tyrannical policy had much to do with these results. On all favorable occasions, in the midst of profound peace, she had seized desirable portions of Italian territory; she forced the smaller duchies of Central Italy to acknowledge themselves her vassals, and had even undertaken to establish at Milan a general court or council to regulate their affairs. No wonder that such high dealing drove every Italian sovereign for whom it was possible to do so to resort to the protection of France, and the more readily as Spain's power to maintain or enforce her extravagant

claims was by no means proportionate to her boastful assumption of them.

Philip III. was a ruler without will and without judgment. He devoted a disproportionate amount of his time to the pleasures of the table; he was fond of hunting, of travel, and of cards; in short, he was glad to resort to anything to while away the time. He left most of his public duties to the Marquis of Denia, whom he had made Duke of Lerma, and had decreed that the duke's signature should have the same authority as his own—an unheard-of thing in western monarchies. Yet Lerma was not only uneducated, narrow, and incapable, but positively dishonest—a thief who in all possible ways plundered the poor bleeding state he was pretending to govern. When in 1598 he was raised to power, he was a poor man; thirteen years later, he enjoyed a yearly revenue of 700,000 scudi, equivalent to more than four million dollars of to-day, and possessed besides other property worth nearly ten times that amount. Lerma had a favorite, Pedro, who, as the son of a freed slave, bore the name of Franqueza, but whom the duke had created Count of Villalonga. This man was morally and intellectually even worse than his protector. Spain had fallen so low that its government was in the hands of such adventurers!

What kept the tottering realm together was, above all, the army. Though lack of money and consequent irregularity of pay sadly interfered with its strict discipline, still in courage and in warlike experience the Spanish soldiers remained the best in Europe. They were deservedly held in high esteem by their countrymen. "Gentlemen soldiers" was the title with which their officers addressed them.

Foreign nations the Spaniard looked upon with ignorant contempt—with hate, if they were heretical. The gloomy fanaticism common to the race is apparent even in the works of a man of genius like Lope de Vega. This same spirit led to a measure that struck at Spanish prosperity a blow from which it never recovered—the expulsion of the Moriscos, or Spanish Moors.

After the repression of their great rebellion in 1570 and 1571, these unfortunate descendants of the former masters of Spain had to submit to heavier and heavier oppression. They were taxed by state, church, and nobles, and millions of ducats annually extracted from them. No wonder that most of them were filled with intense hate against their oppressors and passionate attachment to the faith of their ancestors. Nominally Christians, at heart and in the secrecy of their homes they were zealous Mohammedans. There arose, in consequence, a strong party among the Spanish clergy, that saw no means of preserving unity

of faith in the kingdom except by the destruction or expulsion of the Moriscos. This party met with strong opposition from the pope, Clement VIII., a mild and liberal man, from the nobles, who did not wish to lose so profitable a body of tenants, and from Philip III. himself. It was hinted that, if the Moriscos were treated in a Christian spirit, they might be led to accept the Christian faith; but the zealots scouted the idea, and used all means in their power to excite the populace against the Moriscos, and they succeeded but too well. Unfortunately, some of the latter, frightened at the growing hostility against them, entered upon treasonable plottings, which were discovered. The result of this was that Lerma, in close alliance with the clerical party, determined upon the expulsion of the Moors. He found no great difficulty in inducing the weak-willed monarch to share his views. In September, 1609, a decree of banishment was proclaimed, first against the Moors of Valencia, soon afterward against those in other provinces. They were allowed, in most cases, to take away only what they could carry on their persons. Soon reports were spread of the fiendish cruelties practiced by sea-captains and sailors upon the defenceless men entrusted to them. The Moriscos still left in Spain rose up in fierce rebellion in the Sierra al Aguár, the wild mountain chain that separates Valencia from Murcia. The movement was suppressed without difficulty, but thousands of the Moriscos were butchered.

The exodus lasted until July, 1611; even families who had for generations practiced Christianity were forced to go. At the lowest calculation, Spain lost by this stupendous crime half a million of her most industrious, thrifty, and useful citizens, and with them the best part of her industries, half of her exports to America, and the most flourishing portion of her agriculturists.

In the Netherlands also the baneful influence of the Spanish rule was felt.

Here the Spanish forces were commanded by an able Genoese, Marquis Ambrogio di Spinola, who had raised at his own expense a force of 8000 men. Though an untried commander, Spinola held his own against Maurice of Orange, who had recently (1600) inflicted a serious defeat on Archduke Albert at Nieuport. Ostend was forced to surrender to the Spaniards (1604) after an heroic defence of three years, and other though lesser gains gave new hope to the Spanish party. But these successes were much more than offset by the enormous losses the Dutch fleets inflicted upon the Spaniards on the sea and in their colonies, the severest of which was the loss of the Moluccas. The commercial fleet of the United Provinces consisted of over 3000 ships, manned by more than 40,000 sailors.

The internal condition of the Spanish Netherlands was such as to make peace an imperative necessity for Albert and his wife. Unquestionably, these rulers were inspired with the best intentions—conscientious, kind, and of exemplary conduct; but they were also fanatically narrow-minded, full of Spanish conceit and arrogance, and incapable of understanding the needs of their subjects (PLATE XXVI.).

The only class of society which in these days of general poverty continually grew in wealth was the clergy. The church owned more than half of all landed property. Religious persecution and the mad pursuit of witches and sorcerers cost thousands of lives. Children of fourteen or fifteen suffered side by side with old men and women. It was then that the thick cloud of superstition, ignorance, and religious decadence settled on the Belgian provinces—a cloud which darkened them for more than two centuries, and is not yet lifted from all parts of the land.

Material interests had suffered also; Northern Brabant and Flanders, once a fertile and populous country, had been turned into a desert by the devastations of war. All over Belgium, agriculture was prostrate, and commerce was almost destroyed by the Dutch ships of war and privateers. The coast of Flanders, once the resort of the vessels and merchants of all Europe, was now deserted. Dunkirk alone won a certain renown by its unblushing piracies.

These circumstances had induced peace-loving Albert, ever since the year 1603, to arrange a peace with the States-General. In the Netherlands themselves, public opinion was more and more in favor of it. The burden of debt was increasing at a fearful rate, and taxation was so heavy that in several places there had been actual uprisings against the republican authorities. To the financial considerations were added political ones. England, under James I., was inclining more and more toward Spain; Henry IV. was doing his best, by insufficient support, to force the Netherlands to throw themselves unreservedly into the arms of France, or to acknowledge him distinctly as their sovereign. The people of the United Provinces, conscious of their strength, were not in the least disposed to surrender their independence, and the majority of the States-General, under the leadership of Barneveld, preferred to accept the proposals of the archduke, in direct opposition to Maurice of Orange, who looked upon peace as not only threatening his own authority, which rested mainly on the army, but also as dangerous to the unity and security of the young state.

In the spring of 1607, negotiations were opened in The Hague between the United Provinces and Archduke Albert. After long discussions, in



A Ball at the Court of the A

Painting by Francis Porbus the young



Dukes Albert and Isabella.

(1570-1622). Original at The Hague.

which Henry IV. stood stoutly by the States-General, on April 9, 1609, the parties agreed, not upon a peace, but upon a truce of twelve years, which practically meant that the rebellious provinces were independent of Spain.

This was an event of great importance. The victory of the Netherlanders was really a victory of religious and political liberty over the gloomy despotism Spain exercised on both the bodies and the souls of her subjects everywhere. It checked the progress of the Counter-reformation, which for half a century had gone on triumphantly. For Spain it was a severe blow, a distinct humiliation, and it greatly diminished her prestige in Europe. The power which but recently aimed at controlling the world had been forced to come to terms with a handful of bold men on the sandy plains of the Schelde and Meuse. This treaty set a stamp on the reign of Philip III.; it indicated the turning-point at which the leadership in Europe passed from the hands of Spain into those of France.

The latter was preparing to avail herself of this change to make a great and decisive effort to drive her rival into the background. For years Henry IV. had employed all the resources of diplomacy to raise as many adversaries as possible against the house of Hapsburg, not only among the Protestants, but even in Constantinople. He wished to combine the evangelicals of Germany in a firm and well-organized union, with which he could enter into a close alliance against the emperor and Spain. In the year 1608 his object was in large measure accomplished by the founding of the Evangelical Union. He was now able to prepare a final attack on the Hapsburgs of Germany.

Until recently, general credence has been given to the tradition concerning what is called Henry's "great plan," the parceling out of Europe into fifteen states of equal size and power, united in eternal alliance, the first effort of which would be the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. It is in itself highly improbable that so practical and sagacious a statesman as Henry ever should have conceived so chimerical a plan, especially as he kept on the best terms with the Turks. In fact, a careful investigation of sources shows that the "great plan" is the production of the brain of a statesman who, dismissed from court during the following reign, spent his involuntary retirement in writing fantastic memoirs aimed at glorifying his monarch and himself at the expense of their successors. It is needless to name Maximilien, Duc de Sully. In fact, the king's plans were simpler, more natural, easier to realize, and unquestionably far less unselfish than Sully would have us believe.

On March 25, 1609, John William, Duke of Cleves, Jülich, and

Berg, Count of Mark and Ravensberg, and Lord of Ravenstein, died without leaving any male heirs. Numerous claimants arose to contest this tempting morsel: some, as the Elector of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine of Neuburg, on the ground of marriage with female members of the family of Cleves; others, as the Elector of Saxony, because they had of old entered into an agreement with the house of Cleves, touching inheritance. The bolder contestants went at once to work. Despite the order of Rudolf II. to await the decision of the imperial court, Brandenburg, whose claim was generally admitted to be the best, and Neuburg, jointly took possession of the inheritance and prepared to defend it.

Unquestionably their conduct was in direct violation of the emperor's right, and a conflict between him and the princes was inevitable. Henry IV. did not hesitate to take sides with the latter. Rudolf entrusted his brother, Archduke Leopold, with the sequestration of the contested inheritance, and Leopold, by a successful *coup de main*, made himself master of the important fortress of Jülich. Henry thereupon explicitly declared that he would not allow the house of Austria, under pretext of religion and of imperial rights, to seize the lands of Cleves. He proceeded at once and vigorously with his military preparations, intending to move with all his allies against his hereditary foe.

At this moment the king's personal interests happened to complicate the political situation. Although already past his prime, Henry had fallen in love with Charlotte, daughter of the Constable de Montmorency, then in the sixteenth year of her age. The king had induced his cousin, the Prince of Condé, to marry the young lady, hoping to find in him an obliging husband. Condé, however, would not listen to the overtures of the king, and, to save his wife's honor and his own, fled with her to Brussels (November, 1609). Henry was not only greatly angered by this flight, but also not a little dismayed, for he feared lest Condé, the first prince of the blood, should make common cause with the emperor. He immediately summoned Archduke Albert, under threat of a declaration of war, to refuse to harbor the fugitives. Albert, acting under orders from Madrid, declined to surrender them, and Henry redoubled his preparations.

This incident injured the king in the estimation of his subjects, and still more in that of foreigners. The king's allies were naturally averse to spending money and blood in fighting out Henry's love-quarrels, and in France the clerical party was doing its best to create popular dissatisfaction with the policy of a prince who joined hands with Protestant Germans to make war against Catholic Austrians and Spaniards.

Henry, however, was not to be shaken in his resolution. He planned to make an attack at once on the Lower Rhine, on Milan, on Northern Spain, and possibly also on Belgium. Henry himself was to head the first, with the main body of his army. He intended to join his troops in Champagne on May 19, 1610. He appointed his wife as regent during his absence, and, to give her increased dignity and consideration, he caused her, at her own request, to be solemnly crowned at St. Denis, May 13, 1610. The royal entry of the queen-regent was to take place three days later.

At this juncture occurred a catastrophe that changed everything. On May 14, as Henry, who had gone back to his capital to attend to the preparations for this entry, was slowly driving through the narrow and much-encumbered Rue de la Feronnerie, the dagger of an assassin struck him a mortal blow. François Ravailiac's aim was so true that Henry had only time to exclaim "It is nothing," and then fell dead.

The mystery of this crime has never been unraveled. Ravailiac himself made no revelations; on the contrary, he maintained to the last, in the midst of the most terrible tortures, that he had no accomplices, and the best-informed of his contemporaries believed him. Attempts to assassinate the king had been of almost yearly occurrence; this last had been successful. Religious hatred, so characteristic of the sixteenth century, had found once more a means of expression, and this time a terrible one.

The mighty projects of Henry fell with him. His successor was a mere child under the regency of a commonplace woman. He had not been allowed to carry through a single one of his profoundly conceived and carefully prepared plans. His enemies rejoiced; the Hapsburgs felt they had escaped a great peril.

But Henry's sudden death (Fig. 158) only delayed for a short time the execution of his plans. So firmly had he established his rule, so strongly laid the foundations of the financial, military, and political superiority of France, that as soon as a firm, intelligent hand again assumed the control of affairs, the rivalry between France and Spain, between the Bourbons and the Hapsburgs, was settled in favor of the former. Henry had, in internal administration as well as in foreign policy, clearly and safely traced the way which his successors must and did follow, to give France the leadership of Europe and to make French influence the controlling one in the political world. This must be kept in view, if we wish to assign to Henry IV., the greatest of the Bourbons, his real place in history.

He had initiated a new epoch also in religious quarrels, even though



FIG. 158.—Ravaillac and the assassination of Henry IV. Anonymous contemporary etching by Cristoffel van Sichem, referring to the assassination of Henry IV. and the execution of Ravaillac.

reaction now and then took place. It had become perfectly plain, in the last half of the century, that the Reformation, divided as it was into hostile sects, could no longer expect to conquer Europe. Indeed, the old faith had left the defensive attitude to which it had been driven at first, and become aggressive. Under the stubborn leadership of the Hapsburgs, especially the Spanish branch, it had won decided victories over the Reformation and recovered more than one of its lost possessions.

It was Elizabeth of England and Henry IV. of France that checked this Counter-reformation movement. But Henry had a higher aim than the English sovereign; he was the first really tolerant ruler, the first that put state considerations higher than confessional limitations. Bitterly hated on this very account by the bigots of both parties, he had constantly endeavored to deal justly with the adherents of both religions. He himself had fallen a victim to bigotry, but the future was to give effect to his views.

CHAPTER XVI.

ITALY AT THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

ITALY in the second half of the sixteenth century offers the sad spectacle of a general and rapid decadence. The zeal of the Inquisition and the stern orthodoxy of the church had borne their fruits. Classical culture, independent criticism, and native popular enthusiasm disappear to make room for an anxious and discouraged mood. The study of antiquity, once the boast of Italy and the source of her intellectual supremacy, was given up because the church declared war against "heathenish" literature. The sceptre of philology and archæology, that Italy had held so long, passed over to France and Germany. The study of Greek was so completely neglected that Italy did not possess a single distinguished Hellenist. Latin was saved from similar neglect simply because it was the language of the church.

It was at this same time that the Italians forsook in philosophy the systems of Plato and of Aristotle, to turn back to the sophisms and paradoxes of scholasticism. A single independent mind arose among them, Giordano Bruno of Nola, who taught a profound, consistent, spiritual pantheism, not unmixed with mysticism, in his essay "On the Cause, the Beginning and the Unity." Bruno was an adherent of the system of Copernicus, and, with a perspicacity that his contemporaries lacked, he recognized that the stars were self-luminous suns, around which revolved planets invisible to us and probably inhabited. Such views, seeming to require Christ's expiatory sacrifice for innumerable other worlds as well as for ours, could not be allowed by the church. Bruno was arrested by the Inquisition in Venice (1598), sent to Rome, and there, on the charge of atheism and violation of his vow—he had been a Dominican in his youth—burned at the stake (1600). His enemies, bent upon destroying his doctrines as well as his life, burned his writings wherever found, and it is only within comparatively recent times that they have come again to light. Another philosopher, Campanella, was cast into prison, but mainly for political reasons, because he had made himself obnoxious to the Spanish government in Naples by

his effort for political reform. His philosophy is exceedingly fantastic and to-day of no value at all.

One of the most remarkable features of Italian life at this epoch is the founding of numerous academies, the most famous of which, the *della Crusca*, was established in Florence in 1582. They encouraged a taste for restricted investigations in numismatics and archaeology, fostered that dilettantism which considers itself scientific because it deals with infinitely small objects, and promoted pedantry; but this was done at the expense of true and comprehensive learning and of broad scholarship, which yields rich results only when directed by high motives. Whilst the cultured devoted themselves passionately to archaeological trifles, historical writing, that had been so brilliant in the first half of the century, fell into decay. How could it have been otherwise? How could genuine history, that utters truth and brands falsehood, thrive under the rule of the Inquisition and the Index?

In poetry, this is the time when naturalness, sincerity, and simplicity were sacrificed to cover up the real lack of poetic power; instead, there is an over-refinement of form, an artificial complexity of expression, and a dazzling over-luxuriance of phrase. There arose hundreds of sonnet-writers who, with intolerable affectation and subtlety, rehearse a thousand times, with ever new variations, but without a spark of real poetic fire, the ideas and sentiments of Petrarch. An exception should perhaps be made in favor of the Neapolitan Angelo de Costanzo, who had thoughts of his own, to which he gave genuinely classic forms of expression. The pastoral guise which Italian poetry affected more and more is evidence of the care with which men turned from all the great questions of life to the innocent but somewhat flat joys of a purely vegetating existence. Even in dramatic works, the pastoral element is uppermost. Tasso's "*Aminta*" is proof of this. In it there is scarcely any mention of dramatic passion or dramatic action, but the corrupt elegancies of court life are described in flowing, harmonious lines. A more genuine and interesting work is Guarini's "*Pastor Fido*" (1583), of which there have been innumerable imitations in all languages.

Satire still flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century, and is quite as licentious and obscene as in the preceding period. The church had succeeded in making the nation ignorant and servile, but not in improving its morals. The very worst, morally considered, of the satirists was a Roman prelate, Casa. Pope Julius III. did not hesitate to receive with open arms the reprobate Pietro Aretino. The censorship of Rome found no fault with the tales of Bandello, whose thorough worthlessness was more glaring from the fact that the author was a monk and a bishop.

Yet, in these days of almost universal decay, one solitary star shone brilliantly—Torquato Tasso (1544–1595). His sad fate, however, emphasizes the condition of the age in which he lived and worked. His strong poetic bent and creative genius caused him terror, because he looked upon them as sinful and dangerous. He was tormented by a constant dread of the Inquisition in this life, and of damnation in the next, and this harassing terror drove him mad. Love had nothing to do with his insanity. In the most famous of his works, “*Jerusalem Delivered*,” the luxuriant romantic spirit of the first half of the century constantly breaks through and overgrows the religious form and groundwork of the epic. This was made a ground of reproach by Tasso’s enemies, and he himself so regarded it. In his “*Jerusalem Conquered*,” he attempted to discard all pagan and worldly elements, and the lamentable failure of his attempt is in some measure typical of the intellectual impotency of this Jesuit-ruled epoch.

This predilection for sensuous beauty, so characteristic of the Italians of this time, led to an unparalleled development of music. The founder of the new art, the master of sacred music, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1514–1594), with his epoch-making compositions, belongs to this period; his masterpieces date from 1560 on. It was at this time, also, that the union of dramatic poetry and music, which in the opera fills so important a place in modern life, was first accomplished. The merit of it belongs to the Florentine poet, Ottavio Rinuccini. In the year 1594, he interspersed his pastoral drama, “*Daphne*,” with recitatives, which the singer, Jacopo Peri, set to music. The first real opera was also a joint work of these two artists, “*Eurydice*,” composed for the celebration of the betrothal of Maria de’ Medici and Henry IV., in 1600. A freer, more independent development of the music, the addition of the aria and the cantilena to the recitative—this was the contribution of Claudio Monteverde, whose first opera, “*Orpheus*,” was given in the year 1607. The music-drama soon found general acceptance; it satisfied the taste of the times for pomp and display. Within a few decades, hundreds of operas were brought out.

Music seems to have little direct connection with the general intellectual vigor of an epoch; indeed, it rather stands in a certain antagonism to it. Periods of intellectual apathy are often especially musical. It is quite otherwise with architecture and sculpture: they are directly influenced by the spirit of the times. We saw how rich was their development in Italy up to the middle of the sixteenth century. The deterioration which followed was so rapid and so complete that we are forced to draw therefrom the most unfavorable conclusions as to the vigor of

the Italian mind and life at that period. In architecture, instead of the noble proportions and calm beauty of the Renaissance, we have an attempt to impose and dazzle by means of huge masses and a profusion of pompous decorative details. In sculpture, a slavish and inane imitation of Michelangelo: lacking the master's powerful genius and profound devotion to art, his would-be imitators try to replace them by exaggerations, distortions, ugly mannerisms, and a delight in the repulsive. A native of Flanders—who, however, spent most of his active artistic life in Florence—John of Bologna, is the sole exception to this rule. He aims less at powerful individualization, which was the characteristic of the school of Michelangelo, than at refined, elegant, yet firm and sure workmanship. The “Rape of the Sabines” and the “Flying Mercury” are his best-known works. In painting also, as in sculpture, with the exception of Venice, there was a mere slavish, unintelligent imitation of older masters. In Venice, painting continued to grow on the sound native foundations set by Giorgione, Palma Vecchio, and Titian. Jacopo Tintoretto (1512–1594) produced his great allegorical, religious, and historical pictures. Paul Veronese (1528–1588) is the greatest colorist of all times: incomparable for richness and splendor, and inexhaustible in the variety and perfection of his figures, yet always clear, sincere, and full of the noblest artistic sentiment.

With her wise government, the hereditary ability and steady circumspection of her nobles, Venice was a striking exception in the Italy of that day. But afterward, under the yoke of a ruthless Inquisition, under the unrestrained rule of the Jesuit element in the church, she soon lost the high rank her intellectual and artistic achievements had won for her, and she sank to be the lowest and most unfortunate of states. Her fate is a warning, no less terrible than that of Spain, of the deadly effects of spiritual tyranny.

Politically, the largest part of the peninsula was directly or indirectly under the rule of Spain, and this rule was thoroughly unpopular; the Neapolitans especially found it hard to endure the enervating and deadening yoke. In the year 1601, a Dominican, the mystic philosopher, Thomas Campanella, proclaimed the rebellion in Calabria. Not only the monks of all orders and the secular priests, but the bishops also, abetted him. The nobility and the cities were won to the movement. But the conspiracy was discovered, and was punished with dreadful cruelty. Campanella himself escaped death by feigning madness, and later escaped from prison and sought refuge in France. The Spanish tyrants treated poor Italy worse than ever. Only four Italian states retained their independence: Rome, Tuscany, Venice, and Savoy-Piedmont,

which, after its liberation from the French yoke, had been put upon a sound and solid foundation by the wise Emmanuel Philibert, and had become an important military power.

The Roman see retained but little of its influence in temporal affairs. Since the days of Paul IV., it had played a subordinate part in the great political movements of the day. But the revival of the church spirit had called it to great religious activity, especially in the contest against heresy. Paul had died in 1559, just as the power of the Inquisition and the severity of its penalties were reaching their climax. Still, the spirit of the Roman people was not yet by any means wholly broken and submissive to the authority of the Inquisitors. The pope had hardly breathed his last when the populace tore down his statue, threw it into the Tiber, set the palace of the Inquisition on fire, and freed her prisoners.

Although the new pope, Pius IV. (Fig. 159), was personally a kindly man and had little love for the Inquisitors, he allowed them free course, considering them as indispensable defenders of the faith. Under his pontificate (1562), the Waldenses who had settled in Calabria, some 4000 in number, peaceful and industrious men, were butchered or cast into prison for life. At the opposite extremity of Italy, in the Piedmontese Alps, at Pius IV.'s earnest request, the troops of Emmanuel Philibert waged a regular warfare against the Waldenses there. The pope's nephew, Carlo Borromeo, a stern fanatic, as Archbishop of Milan, put down all freedom of thought in Lombardy. Here also the populace often made armed resistance to the efforts of the Inquisition, but at length had to succumb.

The greatest triumph of the Inquisition was the accession to the papal throne of Ghislieri, whom Paul IV. had made censor of the faith, as Pius V. (1566). His election was the signal for an exodus from Italy on the part of all who did not think themselves above suspicion of heresy. The Roman populace that had once, after the death of Paul IV., plundered Ghislieri's house, was full of sorrow and fear. Pius V. was the more dreaded, as he was as stern with himself as with others; he was a zealot of unwearying activity, and withal a mighty man of prayer. He constantly wore a hair-shirt over his naked body, drank water with but little wine added to it, ate little and only of the simplest dishes. What a contrast to Leo X. or Clement VII.! Pius was a genuine champion of asceticism, of the Inquisition, and of the church. But his greatest care was for the welfare of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. By the bull of December 21, 1566 (*Multiplices inter*), he had made it really independent of the papacy and endowed it with discretionary powers. As a consequence of this, in Rome, in Naples, everywhere in Italy, members of the foremost families were led to execution; priests



FIG. 159.—Pope Pius IV. Reduced facsimile of the engraving by Nicolas Beatrizet (cir. 1515–1560).

and bishops were cast into dungeons for life. The apostolic prothonotary, Pietro Carnesecchi, once the trusted friend of Clement VII., was beheaded and then burned at the stake; Aonio Valcario, one of the most eloquent and distinguished Latinists of Italy, an old man of seventy

years, met with the same fate. Religious offences committed ten, twenty years before, were sought out and punished.

The church has placed Pius V. among her saints, not only because of his undeniable personal virtues, but also because he set the last touch to the spiritual subjection of Italy to the papacy. That heresy no longer raised its head in the peninsula, Rome owed to the labors of Caraffa and Ghislieri, Paul IV. and Saint Pius V.

The force of this tendency toward a sterner policy was apparent in the successor of Pius V.—Gregory XIII. He had been a mild, easy man, of somewhat free morals. But, once elected pope, he fell under the influence of the Jesuits. He had appointed his son to the command of the papal army; he repented this act of nepotism, and exiled him to Ancona. His favors were wholly given to the Roman College of the Jesuits; he is said to have devoted two million scudi to its support. Meanwhile he neglected entirely the administration of the Papal States, which, under his long pontificate (1572–1585), suffered terribly from crushing taxation and from an unparalleled extension of brigandage. Whole provinces lay at the mercy of bands of robbers. His political subserviency to the Spaniards was as complete as his spiritual bondage to the Jesuits.

It was Gregory XIII. who carried out the reform of the Julian calendar. On February 24, 1584, appeared the bull decreeing that ten days should be stricken out of the coming month of October, and that, in the future, in every four centuries, three days should be dropped to bring the calendar year into conformity with the solar. At first the Catholics alone adopted this improved calendar; the Protestants childishly held out against it a long time. The Greeks and the Russians, as is well known, still hold to the old Julian method.

The cardinals seem to have oscillated between a weak pope and a strong one, and chose, as Gregory's successor, Sixtus V., a man of humble origin, though not a swineherd as tradition has affirmed. At the age of nine, in 1530, he entered the Franciscan monastery of Montalto, near Grottamare, where he was born, and early attracted the attention of the highest authorities by his eloquence as a preacher and by his zeal for orthodoxy. A man of intense convictions and passionate enthusiasm, he became, in Venice first, and then in Rome, the mainstay of the Inquisition. He won the favor of Pius V., who raised him to the episcopate and finally to the cardinalate, under the name of Cardinal Montalto, from the cloister where his religious life had begun. Gregory XIII. hated him, and, during his pontificate, Montalto withdrew to his villa near Rome and remained as secluded as possible. Thence arose



St. Peter's in Rome.

the tradition that he represented himself as older and weaker than he really was, and used crutches, so that the cardinals might elect him pope, on the ground that he would be quite inoffensive and would soon make way for another. The truth is that Cardinal Medici, with whose family Montalto had long been intimate, and who was determined to prevent the success of certain cardinals hostile to him, secured Montalto's election by the shrewdest manipulation.

The world knows what the new pope did for the States of the Church; how by his vigor and his pitiless severity, aided by extradition treaties with the neighboring princes, he rid his territories of the terrible scourge of brigandage; how he brought new supplies of water to the city; how he erected Nero's obelisk on St. Peter's square (PLATE XXVII.); how, with barbaric intolerance, he vented his wrath on the remains of pagan antiquity. He has left everywhere the impress of his powerful spirit, of his feverish activity. He was constantly bent on amassing money. "Without money," he said, "a prince is nothing." In true peasant fashion, he loved to count his hoarded gold and to hear gold pieces jingle in his pockets. He added largely to the number of purchasable offices, whose sale filled his coffers; he created new taxes and based upon them loans that brought him hundreds of thousands in hard cash. One year before his death, his treasure amounted to 4,600,000 gold crowns. How hard it was for him to part with this treasure! for he was as miserly as a genuine peasant. But withal, though he was miserly, he nevertheless restored the silk culture and wool manufactures; he made Ancona an important commercial port, constructed streets and bridges, and protected the persecuted inhabitants of the ghetto.

As to general politics, Sixtus lived and dealt in the most comprehensive schemes. After the example of Urban II. and Innocent III., he wished to initiate a great crusade of all Christian nations against Turkey, or, in conjunction with Tuscany, to conquer Egypt and Jerusalem. His treasure, whose importance he exaggerated, was to aid him in this. It was at this time that Cardinal Bellarmine, in his book, *De Potestate Summi Pontificis*, reaffirmed the mediæval doctrine that the pope not only has unlimited authority over the church and the councils, but also that, in order to uphold the church, he has like authority, in last resort, over the temporal powers of Christendom. Such claims did not satisfy Sixtus; he wished unconditional and immediate headship of princes and powers. He united in his person the most ardent ecclesiastical zeal with insatiable ambition.

In the Netherlands, in Poland, in Germany—everywhere, indeed—he showed himself the eager promoter of the Counter-reformation. But

the papacy had to gain by it no less than the church in general. Therefore, Sixtus turned his attack first against the best soldiers of the church, the Jesuits, because they seemed to him too independent of the Holy See. The general of the order, Aquaviva, used all possible means to avert the blow that threatened the Society, but in vain. The decree was already signed that dissolved their powerfully centralized organization—the secret of their great success—subjected them to the usual church jurisdiction, and deprived them of their very name. But Sixtus died soon, and the Jesuit Order survived undisturbed.

In French affairs, Sixtus V. failed to satisfy the most eager zealots. At first, it is true, he took sides with Spain and the League, for the question was then to save Catholicism in France. But before long he doubted the wisdom of this course, and wished to be reconciled with Henry IV.; the necessary step thereto was the French king's return to Catholicism. But there were many difficulties in the way. In Rome itself the cardinals' college was devoted to the Spanish cause; and in Paris, the apostolic legate, Gaetani, disobeyed all injunctions of the pope and followed the directions of the League and the king of Spain. Sixtus was naturally incensed at this, and at length a formal contest arose between the Spanish ambassadors and their friends among the cardinals on the one hand, and the pope and his party on the other, a contest that was carried on with personal aspersions and violent threats on both sides. The Spanish preachers, particularly the Jesuits, harangued boldly against the Holy Father. Nevertheless, Sixtus was resolved to send to Henry a legate that would prepare his return into the arms of the church. But death interfered with this project; on August 27, 1590, Sixtus breathed his last. He had exercised but slight influence on European affairs. In spite of the treasure in Sant' Angelo, the popes were no longer great powers in the political world.

The real leaders of the Counter-reformation, in its extreme form, were the Jesuits. They did not hesitate to attack pope or bishops whenever these seemed to them to stand in the way of the interests of the order or of the church, and they recklessly proclaimed the most revolutionary doctrines, tending to make temporal power absolutely dependent upon strict orthodoxy. In the Council of Trent, Laynez had claimed for the people the right to elect or depose their masters. In their struggle against Elizabeth, the English Jesuits, Allen and Parsons, had given this doctrine a practical application against the "heretical tyrant." Bellarmine put it in a still more clerical form: "There are," he says, "two ways to get rid of evil princes: dethronement by the people, and dethronement by the pope." Even under the shadow of

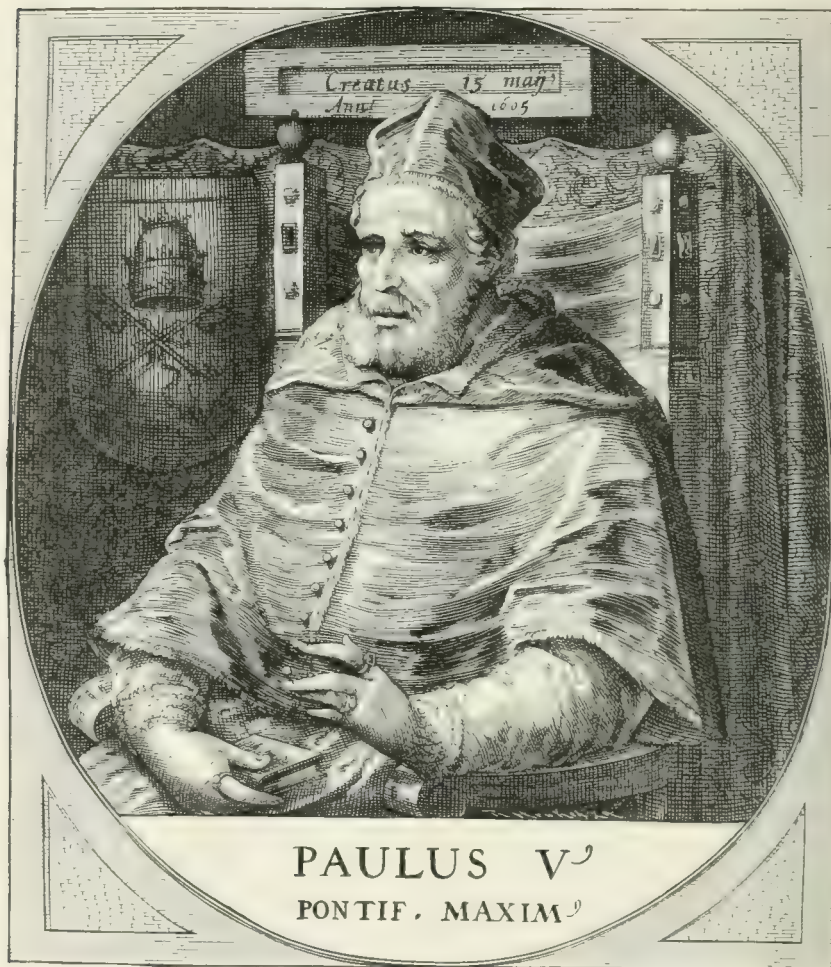
Spanish absolutism, the Jesuits did not fear to propose such views and to press them to their extreme consequences. Francisco Suarez, in his "Defence of the Catholic Faith," and Mariana, in his famous work, "On the King and the Royal Power," are proofs of this. Mariana develops in detail the doctrine of the unconditional sovereignty of the people, both theoretically and practically. According to him, the people have a right to force their rulers to observe the laws, and even in extreme cases to dethrone them or to put them to death. He eulogizes the act of Jacques Clement, the murderer of Henry III.; for, he asks, "what laws are more holy and inviolable than the laws of God?" He meant, of course, of the church. And Mariana was by no means an exception among the members of his order. A Jesuit of Antwerp, Rosseus, published an extraordinary book, in which he maintained that it was a right and a duty to kill an heretical ruler; that every ruler was a heretic, that did not unconditionally submit to the decisions of the church or ventured to interfere in church affairs.

Philip II. tolerated these views in his realm because they favored his policy. But in France they met with strong opposition, even among good Catholics; the Sorbonne and the Parlement both condemned them emphatically; distinguished men, as Étienne Pasquier, wrote to controvert them. After the assassination of Henry IV., Aquaviva, the general of the Jesuits, ordered that "it should no longer be allowed everybody to preach regicide." But this somewhat indefinite prohibition was not earnestly meant; the Jesuits continued to teach their murderous doctrine. Everywhere in Germany, England, Scotland, Sweden, Poland, and Russia, we find their emissaries as leaders of the Counter-reformation.

The immediate successors of Sixtus V. are not men of much prominence. It is noteworthy, however, that with Clement VIII. (1592-1605) the papacy began to work itself free from Spanish interference. This manifestation of independence coincides with the decadence of the Spanish power; it was comparatively safe for the Holy See to turn to France and to seek there means of resisting the pressure of Spain. Aquaviva also, who had been elected general of the Jesuits, at this time gave to the whole organization an anti-Spanish tendency.

In 1605, Camillo Borghese was elected to the papacy, and took the name of Paul V. (Fig. 160). He was still comparatively young and inexperienced in affairs. Especially learned in canon law, he was filled with an exaggerated idea of the papal dignity, and resolved to bend the temporal powers under the authority of the Holy See. Consequently, soon after his accession he began a bitter struggle with the republic of Venice, which, as a small and relatively weak state, seemed to him best

adapted to enable him to test his claims. His estimate of the strength of Venice (PLATE XXVIII.) seemed justified by the fact that for many years she had pursued a policy of absolute peace that might well be con-



*Regna adiit PETRÆ LEO; PETRI sedē locatus
Gentibus est PAULUS PETRÆ omnibusq; PETRUS:
Hic FLORENTINO prognatus SANGUINE PASTOR
PETRA tuas viridj gramine PASCET OVES*

FIG. 160.—Pope Paul V. Engraving by Crispin de Passe (1560 to about 1630).

strued as a token of weakness. Once only, and quite reluctantly, in 1570, she had taken up arms against Lala Mustapha, a general of Selim II., who had made an attack on Cyprus. Venice had shared in the





Procession of the Doge and the Seignory of Venice, about 1860

Facsimile of the engraving by Mattio Pagano about 1556-1560

battle of Lepanto, but had done nothing directly for the rescue of the island. The proveditore, Marc Antonio Bragadino, heroically defended for eleven months the capital, Famagusta, against the innumerable horde of Turks; but at length, in August, 1571, famine compelled him to surrender the town, on condition that the garrison should be allowed to withdraw with the honors of war.

The Turks shamefully violated their pledge. Brave Bragadino was cruelly mutilated and then flayed alive on the public square of Famagusta. His skin was stuffed and sent to Constantinople, to be exhibited in the arsenal. The inactivity and dissension of the Christian commanders, after their victory at Lepanto, allowed the Turks next year (1572) to take the sea again with a fleet of 250 vessels. Venice, seeing herself forsaken, and wishing above all things else to recover her trade in the Levant, decided to make terms with the Turks. The peace of 1573 was certainly not an honorable one for her; she yielded Cyprus to the sultan, paid an indemnity of 300,000 ducats, and submitted to a yearly tribute to secure the retention of the island of Zante.

Ever since that agreement, Venice had pursued a peaceful policy. She was, at heart, hostile to Spanish preponderance and friendly to France. She was the first Catholic state to recognize Henry IV. as king of France in 1589. So Paul V. felt he could count upon Spanish aid in his attack upon the republic.

Near the close of the year 1605, two Venetian clergymen, who had become guilty of a common offense, were summoned before the Council of Ten. This supposed attack on church jurisdiction greatly offended Paul V. Under threat of immediate excommunication and interdict, he demanded of the Venetians not only the surrender of the two guilty priests to papal officials and the renunciation of all secular jurisdiction over the clergy, but also the rescinding of the laws which forbade the acquisition of real estate by the clergy and the erection of new churches without special permission of the secular authorities. The Venetians, however, did not allow themselves to be frightened, and politely but firmly denied the pope's claims. And to show that in this they were acting on principle, they chose as theological counsel for their government the famous Paolo Sarpi, well known as the opponent of papal autocracy. Paul then resorted to extreme measures; in April, 1606, he placed the whole Venetian territory under the interdict. But the Venetian senate declared the interdict illegal, and the secular clergy paid no attention to it; a few orders only, prominent among them the Jesuits, endeavored to carry it out, and were thereupon expelled from Venetian territory.

But if within the republic the authority of the senate was triumphant,

the struggle with the papacy had a significance that extended far beyond the Venetian boundaries. It was a renewal of the old contest for the independence of the state as against the claims of the church as a superior power. Two antagonistic theories were contending together. One, the older, considered the state as a subordinate and servant of the divinely appointed church; the other, the modern, saw in the state the union of all material and moral factors of social life, and assigned to it supreme power over all classes of people, clergy as well as laity.

Paul had not been mistaken in thinking Spain would be glad to act against Venice with him. But Spanish greed spoiled everything. By exacting of the pope, as the price of his assistance, the surrender of important fortresses, Philip III. excited the suspicions of Paul. The Venetians, moreover, were raising large bodies of soldiers and had promises of aid from England and Holland. It even seemed as if, under the guidance of Paolo Sarpi, Venice might go over to Protestantism.

At this juncture Henry IV., who had long been urging both parties to moderation, stepped in as mediator; and in April, 1607, Cardinal Joyeuse, his ambassador, succeeded in bringing about a peace. The kings of France and of Spain were, in their own name and in that of the republic, to obtain of the pope the removal of all ecclesiastical censures against Venice. The two priests, whose case had led to this conflict, were to be surrendered to the French ambassador, who might deliver them to the pope, without prejudice, however, to the future rights of Venice. All the claims Paul had so loudly made were tacitly abandoned; all the Venetian laws he had assailed remained in force. Even at the imperial court at Prague—that stronghold of Catholicism—everyone said: “Either the pope, in his quarrel with Venice, had made unreasonable demands, or he had, in the peace negotiations, made unjustifiable concessions.”

Where now were the dreams of universal dominion that Paul V. had indulged in? The papacy had been compelled to deal on equal terms with a small Catholic republic; indeed, it had been worsted in the conflict. Henceforth Rome appeared as one of the weaker European states, without any great influence on the destinies of the world. It has never since ventured to put a country under the interdict. This comparative insignificance of the papacy continued until the reaction which set in at the beginning of the present century, consequent upon the French Revolution.

In Tuscany, Rome's neighboring state, a new power comes forth in the person of Cosmo I. de' Medici, known as “the Great.” As Duke of Florence, who owed his dignity to Charles V., he had remained

faithful to the imperial cause through all the vicissitudes of war. He had largely contributed to the defeat inflicted at Marciano in 1554 upon the French commanded by the Florentine exile, Pietro Strozzi, and in the following year he had captured their most important fortress, Siena. As a reward, at the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, Siena, the old rival of Florence, was assigned to the duke, together with all her territory, thus sharing the fate of Pisa. With the exception of the little republic of Lucca, all Tuscany now obeyed Cosmo, who had thus, by a skilful use of circumstances, reached the aim that his predecessors had so long striven for in vain. The authority that he had secured by cunning and cruelty, he exercised with wisdom and moderation, though never hesitating to practice severity when it seemed necessary. His administration of justice was stern, but perfectly free from partiality; it made him both feared and loved. He was also, as his ancestors had been, a generous patron of literature, learning, and art. He had the remains of Michelangelo brought to Florence and buried with more than princely honors, regardless of the stern republicanism of the great artist. He founded an academy of design, restored the famous university of Pisa, and, by inviting to it the most famous scholars of the day, soon made it the most celebrated school in Italy. A circle of poets and historians, the successors of the masters of the great period of liberty, surrounded Cosmo. Vasari—architect, painter, sculptor, and writer—dedicated to him his “*Lives of Painters*.” The autobiography of the brilliant goldsmith and medaillieur, Benvenuto Cellini, gives us a true picture of the time, surroundings, and personality of the duke.

Cosmo was interested in the natural sciences, and their progress in Tuscany was largely due to him. His favorite study was mineralogy. He also fostered medicine and called the great Andreas Vesalius from Brussels to the university of Pisa. He completed the building for the Laurentian library, begun by Clement VII. It was for him that Vasari, with a good taste which recalls the better age of architecture, planned and constructed the Uffizi Palace, originally intended for the various public departments, now the most magnificent art gallery in the world.

The end of Cosmo's life was saddened by the sudden death of his wife and of two of his sons. In 1564 he surrendered the internal administration of Tuscany to his eldest, Francesco. He retained a keen interest in foreign affairs, and formed with the pope a sort of central Italian league, directed against Spain rather than France. His galleys fought valiantly against the Turks and took an honorable part in the great fight at Lepanto. To reward his zeal and to enhance at the same time the dignity of his ally, Pius V. had, shortly before Lepanto, raised him to

the dignity of Grand Duke of Tuscany and crowned him as such in the Vatican. To this the emperor made strenuous objection, claiming that Tuscany was a fief of the empire, and the king of Spain because he looked upon all Italian princes as his vassals. Thus troublesome and even dangerous complications resulted from Cosmo's increase of dignity.

He had troubles also in his own household. An exemplary husband and father as long as his wife had lived, after her death Cosmo showed himself a scandalous libertine. His son was no better, and Cosmo was forced to endure the spectacle of his heir and co-regent living in a doubly adulterous connection with a notorious Venetian woman of high birth, the beautiful and accomplished Bianca Capello—he already married to Joanna of Austria, and Bianca having a husband of her own somewhere. After repeated attacks of apoplexy, Cosmo died, April 21, 1574, in the fifty-fifth year of his age and the thirty-ninth of his reign. He had been, in good things and in evil, very much of a Florentine burgher and partisan; his successors, born and bred as princes, demeaned themselves as legitimate rulers. Francesco, the first of them, although superior to Cosmo in learning, was an insignificant man, more Spaniard than Florentine.

He left no male heir, and was succeeded (1587) by his brother, Ferdinand I., who had heretofore been known as Cardinal Medici, but who now renounced religious life and took to himself a wife. He was a well-meaning, prudent man, who showed himself independent of Spain; he liberally aided Henry IV. in his earlier and harder struggles, and bestowed upon him the hand of his niece, Maria, daughter of Francesco. In his internal administration, he showed himself equally wise. He it was who began the draining of the Chiana valley and of the pestilential Maremma. His greatest act, however, was the founding of Leghorn (Livorno), a place which the privileges wisely conferred upon it soon developed into an important seaport; it is now the only first-class one in Tuscany. Ferdinand died in 1609, sincerely regretted by his subjects. He gave Tuscan policy the direction it followed for two hundred and fifty years, even under a new dynasty. The Grand Dukes have been prudent, moderate, and intelligent, but not one of them brilliant; in their foreign policy as cautious as possible, in their home policy quietly promoting the public good without forgetting their personal or family interests.

But they could not check the decadence of Tuscany. Vigor and enterprise passed away with liberty. Larger states crowded the Tuscans more and more completely out of the great marts of the world. At the beginning of Ferdinand's reign, the population of the land had dwindled from 1,300,000 to 1,000,000; that of the capital from 120,000 to somewhat less than 90,000.

The small republics of Genoa and Lucca were in reality vassals of Spain. The former was still prominent for its bankers, who proved indispensable financial allies for his Catholic majesty, and who, in spite of the occasional bankruptcy of the Spanish government, found their occupation highly lucrative. Genoa was the more inclined to lean on Spain because her unruly and rebellious subjects, the Corsicans, were receiving secret support and encouragement from France and Tuscany. When the republic, in 1564, imposed upon the barren and impoverished island a heavy income tax, the inhabitants rose in rebellion under the leadership of the heroic Sampiero. For three years, with the boldness and cunning which so combine in the Corsican character, he withstood the superior forces of the Genoese, who resorted at length to cowardly assassination to get rid of him. The war continued two years longer, and Genoa had to make important concessions to recover her island. In the city itself, there were continuous quarrels between the old nobles and the new, between the nobility and the popular party, and more than once Spain had to interfere to enforce peace.

This part of judge or arbiter, Spain was ever eager to play. Her envoys put on the airs and pretensions of Roman proconsuls; from Milan, their headquarters, her troops were always ready to pour into the countries of Upper or Middle Italy. The duchy of Parma was the only possession left to the house of Este, whose hereditary territory, Ferrara, made famous by its brilliant court, had in 1597 been seized by Clement VIII. as a vacant church fief and added to the Roman state. This had led the house of Este to look to Spain for protection. A similar cause had induced the family della Rovere, in the little duchy of Urbino, descended from a nephew of the great Julius II., to resort to a similar policy. The Gonzagas, who owed their ducal title to Charles V., acted more independently. Their original estate, Mantua, was, it is true, but a small one; but in 1573 they had, by inheritance, added to it the more extensive territory of Montferrat. The Duke of Mantua drew importance from the two strong fortresses in his possession: Mantua, his capital, and, in Montferrat, Casale, which was considered the strongest bulwark of Upper Italy. The Gonzagas sought in France protection against the tyranny of Spain and the land-greed of Charles Emmanuel of Savoy.

Such was the situation of Italy at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century—parceled out into minute fragments, destitute of any political and national life of its own. Not much better was the fate which the ever growing Counter-reformation movement was preparing for the German-Roman empire.

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